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LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

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V. I. LENIN

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PREFACE

Volume 23 contains works written by V. I. Lenin in Switzerland between August 1916 and March 1917.

Most of the articles are expressive of the struggle Lenin and the Bolsheviks waged against the imperialist war and the treasonous policy of the avowed social-chauvinist and Centrist leaders of the Second International parties. In this category belong "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism", "Ten 'Socialist' Ministers!", "Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism", "To the Workers Who Support the Struggle Against the War and Against the Socialists Who Have Sided with Their Governments".

The volume includes Lenin's famous article "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution", in which, using the data on imperialist capitalism contained in his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, he elaborates the new theoretical proposition on the *impossibility* of the simultaneous triumph of socialism in all countries and the *possibility* of its triumph in one single capitalist country. In this article, Lenin also substantiates the theory of just and unjust wars.

Articles defining the tasks of the revolutionary Social-Democrats in the imperialist war of 1914-18 hold an important place in Lenin's writings of this period. These include "Tasks of the Left Zimmerwaldists in the Swiss Social-Democratic Party", "Principles Involved in the War Issue", "On the Defence of the Fatherland Issue" and "Defence of Neutrality".

In "The Nascent Trend of Imperialist Economism", "Reply to P. Kievsky (Y. Pyatakov)", "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism", Lenin criticises the attitude

of the anti-Party Bukharin-Pyatakov group as being hostile to Marxism, and elaborates the Bolshevik programme on the national question in adaptation to the new conditions of history.

The volume also includes the "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution", delivered at a gathering of young workers in Zurich. In it Lenin gives a profound interpretative generalisation of the first Russian revolution.

"Draft Theses, March 4 (17), 1917", "Letters from Afar", "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in the Russian Revolution", "The Revolution in Russia and the Tasks of the Workers of All Countries", and several other articles, written in the early days of the February Revolution, analyse the alignment of class forces and outline the prospect for transition from bourgeois-democratic to socialist revolution.

Six items are here published for the first time as part of the *Collected Works*. "Proposed Amendments to the Resolution on the War Issue" and "The Story of One Short Period in the Life of One Socialist Party" discuss the fight waged by the Left forces within the Swiss Social-Democratic Party. *Statistics and Sociology* brings out the part played by national movements in the international labour movement. "Telegram to the Bolsheviks Leaving for Russia" and "Letter to *Volksrecht*" explain the Bolshevik tactics in the revolution. "Decision of the Collegium Abroad, the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party" is directed against Menshevik attempts to prevent Lenin and the other Bolsheviks returning to Russia.

V. I. LENIN
1917

NASCENT TREND OF IMPERIALIST ECONOMISM[1]

The old Economism[2] of 1894-1902 reasoned thus: the Narodniks[3] have been refuted; capitalism has triumphed in Russia. Consequently, there can be no question of political revolution. The practical conclusion: either "economic struggle be left to the workers and political struggle to the liberals"—that is a curvet to the right—or, instead of political revolution, a general strike for socialist revolution. That curvet to the left was advocated in a pamphlet, now forgotten, of a Russian Economist of the late nineties.[4]

Now a new Economism is being born. Its reasoning is similarly base on the two curvets: Right—we are against the "right to self-determination" i.e., against the liberation of oppressed peoples, the struggle against annexations—that has not yet been fully thought out or clearly stated). "Left"—we are opposed to a minimum programme (i.e., opposed to struggle for reforms and democracy) as "contradictory" to socialist revolution.

It is more than a year now since this nascent trend was revealed to several comrades at the Berne Conference in the spring of 1915. At that time, happily, only one comrade, who met with *universal* disapproval, insisted on these ideas of imperialist Economism right up to the end of the Conference and formulated them in writing in special "theses". *No one* associated himself with these theses.[5]

Subsequently two others associated themselves with this comrade's theses against self-determination (unaware that the question was inextricably linked with the general line of the afore-mentioned "theses").[6] But the appearance of the "Dutch programme" in February 1916, published in No. 3 of the *Bulletin of the International Socialist Committee*,[7]

immediately brought out this "misunderstanding" and *again* compelled the author of the original theses to *restate* his imperialist Economism, this time, too, as a whole, and not merely in application to one allegedly "partial" issue.

It is absolutely necessary again and again to *warn* the comrades concerned that they have *landed themselves in a quagmire*, that their "ideas" have *nothing in common either with Marxism or revolutionary Social-Democracy*. We can no longer leave the matter "in the dark": that would only encourage ideological confusion and direct it into the *worst possible channel* of equivocation, "private" conflicts, incessant "friction", etc. Our duty, on the contrary, is to insist, in the most emphatic and categorical manner, on the *obligation* thoroughly to think out and analyse questions raised for discussion.

In its theses on self-determination* (which appeared in German as a reprint from No. 2 of *Vorbote*[8]), the *Sotsial-Demokrat*[9] editorial board purposely brought the matter into the press in an *impersonal*, but most detailed, form, emphasising in particular the *link* between self-determination and the *general* question of the struggle for reforms, for democracy, the impermissibility of ignoring the *political* aspect, etc. In his comments on the editorial board's theses, the author of the original theses (imperialist Economism) comes out in *solidarity with the Dutch programme*, thereby clearly demonstrating that self-determination is by no means a "partial" question, as exponents of the nascent trend maintain, but a general and basic one.

The Dutch programme was laid before representatives of the Zimmerwald Left[10] on February 5-8, 1916, at the Berne meeting of the International Socialist Committee.[11] Not a single member of the Zimmerwald Left, *not even Radek*, spoke in favour of the programme, for it combines, indiscriminately, such points as "expropriation of the banks" and "repeal of customs tariffs", "abolition of the first Senate chamber", etc. The Zimmerwald Left unanimously, with practically no comment, in fact merely with a shrug of the shoulders, dismissed the Dutch programme as patently and wholly unsuitable.

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* See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 143-56.—*Ed.*

However, the author of the original theses, written in the spring of 1915, was so fond of the programme that he declared: "Substantially, that is all I said, too [in the spring of 1915],* the Dutch have *thought things out*": "*with them the economic aspect is expropriation of the banks and large-scale production* [enterprises], *the political aspect is a republic and so on. Absolutely correct!*"

The fact, however, is that the Dutch did not "think things out", but produced an *unthought out* programme. It is the sad fate of Russia that some among us grasp at precisely what is not thought out in the newest novelty....

The author of the 1915 theses believes that the *Sotsial-Demokrat* editors lapsed into a contradiction when they "themselves" urged "expropriation of the banks", and even added the word "immediately" (plus "dictatorial measures") in §8 ("Concrete Measures"). "And how I was reproached for this very thing in Berne!" the author of the 1915 theses exclaims indignantly, recalling the Berne debates in the spring of 1915.

He forgets or fails to see this "minor" point: in §8 the *Sotsial-Demokrat* editors clearly distinguish *two* eventualities: I. The socialist revolution has *begun*. In that event, they say: "immediate expropriation of the banks", etc. II. The socialist revolution has *not* begun, and in that event we shall have to postpone talking about these good things.

Since the socialist revolution, in the above-mentioned sense, has obviously not *yet* begun, the Dutch programme is incongruous. And the author of the theses adds his bit of "*profundity*" by reverting (he always seems to slip on the same spot!) to his old mistake of turning political demands (like "abolition of the first chamber"?) into a "*political formula for social revolution*".

Having marked time for a whole year, the author returned to his old mistake. That is the "crux" of his misadventures: he cannot solve the problem of *how to link the advent of imperialism with the struggle for reforms and democracy*—just as the Economism of blessed memory could not link the advent of capitalism with the struggle for democracy.

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* Interpolations in square brackets (within passages quoted by Lenin) have been introduced by Lenin, unless otherwise indicated.—*Ed.*

Hence—complete confusion concerning the "unachievability" of democratic demands under imperialism.

Hence—ignoring of the political struggle now, at present, immediately, and at all times, which is impermissible for a Marxist (and permissible only for a *Rabochaya Mysl*[12] Economist).

Hence—the knack of persistently "sliding" from *recognition* of imperialism to *apology* for imperialism (just as the Economists of blessed memory slid from recognition of capitalism to apology for capitalism).

And so on, and so forth.

A detailed examination of the errors the author of the 1915 theses commits in his comments on the *Sotsial-Demokrat* self-determination theses is impossible, for *every line is wrong*! After all, you cannot write pamphlets or books in reply to "comments" if the initiators of imperialist Economism spend a whole year marking time and stubbornly refuse to concern themselves with what ought to be their direct party duty if they want to take a serious attitude to political issues, namely: a considered and articulate statement of what they designate as "our differences".

I am therefore obliged to confine myself to a brief review of how the author applies his basic error and how he "supplements" it.

He believes that I contradict myself: in 1914 (in *Prosveshcheniye*[13]) I wrote that it was absurd to look for self determination "in the *programmes of West-European socialists*",* but in 1916 I proclaim self-determination to be especially urgent.

It did not occur (!!) to the author that these "programmes" were drawn up in 1875, 1880, 1891![14]

Now let us take his objections (to the *Sotsial-Demokrat* self-determination theses) point by point.

§1. The same Economist refusal to see and pose *political* questions. *Since* socialism creates the economic basis for the abolition of national oppression in the political sphere, *therefore* our author refuses to formulate our *political tasks* in this sphere! That's ridiculous!

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* See present edition, Vol. 20, p. 406.—*Ed.*

Since the victorious proletariat does not negate wars against the bourgeoisie of other countries, *therefore* the author refuses to formulate our political tasks in relation to national oppression!! These are all examples of downright violation of Marxism and logic, or, if you like, manifestations of the *logic* of the fundamental errors of imperialist Economism.

§2. The opponents of self-determination are hopelessly confused in their references to its being "unachievable".

The *Sotsial-Demokrat* editors explain to them *two* possible interpretations of unachievability and their error in *both* cases.

Yet the author of the 1915 theses, without even trying to give *his* interpretation of "unachievability", i.e., *accepting* our explanation that two different things are confused here, *persists in that confusion*!!

He ties crises to "imperialist" "policy": our expert on political economy *has forgotten* that there were crises *before* imperialism!

To maintain that self-determination is unachievable economically is to confuse the issue, the editors explain. The author does *not* reply, does *not* state that he considers self-determination unachievable *economically*; he abandons his dubious position and jumps over to politics (unachievable "all the same") though he has been told with the utmost clarity that *politically* a republic is just as "unachievable" under imperialism as self-determination.

Cornered, the author "jumps" again: he accepts a republic and the whole minimum programme only as a "political formula for social revolution"!!!

He refuses to defend the "economic" unachievability of self-determination and jumps to politics, maintaining that political unachievability applies to the minimum programme as a whole. Here, again there is not a grain of Marxism, not a grain of logic, save the *logic of imperialist Economism.*

The author wants *imperceptibly* (without stopping to think, without producing anything articulate, without making any effort to work out his programme) to jettison the Social-Democratic Party minimum programme! No wonder he has been marking time for a whole year!!

The question of combating *Kautskyism* is again not a partial, but a *general* and *basic* question of modern times:

the author does *not understand* this struggle. Just as the Economists turned the struggle against the Narodniks into an apology for capitalism, so the author turns the struggle against Kautskyism into an apology for imperialism (that applies also to §3).

The mistake of the Kautskyites lies in the fact that they present in a reformist manner such demands, and at such a time, that can be presented only in a revolutionary manner (but the author lapses into the position that their mistake is to advance these demands altogether, just as the Economists "understood" the struggle against Narodism to mean that the slogan "Down with the autocracy" was Narodism).

The mistake of the Kautskyism lies in projecting *correct* democratic demands into the past, to peaceful capitalism, and not into the future, to the social revolution (the author, however, falls into the position of regarding these demands as incorrect).

§3. See above. The author bypasses *also* the question of "federation". The same old fundamental mistake of the same old Economism: inability to pose *political* questions.*

§4. "From self-determination follows defence of the fatherland," the author obstinately repeats. His mistake here is to make negation of defence of the fatherland a *shibboleth*, deduce it *not* from the concrete historical features of a *given* war, but apply it "in general". That is not Marxism.

The author has been told long ago—try to think up a formula of struggle against national oppression or inequality which (formula) does *not* justify "defence of the fatherland". You cannot devise such a formula, and the author has not challenged that.

Does that mean that we reject the fight against national oppression if it *could* be interpreted to imply defence of the fatherland?

No, for we are opposed not to "defence of the fatherland" "in general" (see our Party resolutions**), but to using

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* "We are not afraid of disintegration," the author writes, "we do not defend national boundaries." Now, just try to give that a precise political formulation!! *You simply cannot do it* and that's where the trouble lies; you are hampered by Economist blindness on questions of *political democracy*.

** See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 159-60.—*Ed.*

this fraudulent slogan to *embellish* the present *imperialist* war.

The author *wants* to pose the question of "defence of the fatherland" in a *basically incorrect* and *unhistorical* way (but he cannot; he has been trying in vain for a whole year...). His reference to "dualism" shows that he does *not understand* the difference between monism and dualism.

If I "unite" a shoe brush and a mammal, will that be "monism"?

If I say that to reach goal *a* we must

$$(c) \longrightarrow a \longleftarrow (b)$$

travel to the left from point (b) and to the right from point (c), will that be "dualism"?

Is the position of the proletariat with regard to national oppression the same in oppressing and oppressed nations? No, it is not the same, not the same *economically*, *politically*, *ideologically*, *spiritually*, *etc.*

Meaning?

Meaning that some will approach in *one* way, others in *another* way *the same* goal (the merger of nations) from *different* starting-points. Denial of that is the "monism" that unites a shoe brush and a mammal.

"It is *not* proper to say this [i.e., to *urge* self-determination] to the proletarians of an oppressed nation"—that is how the author "interprets" the editors' theses.

That's amusing!! There is *nothing of the kind* in the theses. The author has either not read them to the end or has not given them any thought at all.

§5. See above on Kautskyism.

§6. The author is told there are three *types* of countries in the world. He "objects" and snatches out "cases". That is casuistry, not politics.

You want a concrete "case": "How about Belgium"?

See the Lenin and Zinoviev pamphlet[15]: it says that we would be *for* the defence of Belgium (even *by war*) if this concrete war were different.*

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* See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 305-06.—*Ed.*

You do not agree with that?

Then say so!!

You have *not properly thought out* the question of *why* Social-Democrats are against "defence of the fatherland".

We are not against it for the reasons you believe, because your presentation of the question (vain efforts, not really a presentation) goes against history. That is my reply to the author.

To describe as "sophistry" the fact that while *justifying wars for the elimination of national oppression*, we do not justify the present imperialist war, which on *both* sides is being waged to *increase* national oppression—is to use "strong" words without giving the matter *the least bit of thought*.

The author *wants* to pose the question of "defence of the fatherland" from a more "Left" position, but the result (for a whole year now) is utter confusion!

§7. The author *criticises*: "The question of 'peace terms' is not touched upon at all."

Strange criticism: failure to deal with a question we did not even raise!!

But what is "touched upon" and discussed is the question of *annexations*, on which the imperialist Economists are utterly confused, this time *together* with the Dutch and Radek.

Either you reject the immediate slogan *against old and new annexations*—(no less "unachievable" under imperialism than self-determination, in Europe as well as in the colonies)—and in that case you pass from concealed to open apology for imperialism.

Or you accept the slogan (as Radek has done in the press)—and in that case you accept self-determination of nations under a different name!!

§8. The author proclaims "Bolshevism on a West-European scale" ("not your position," he adds).

I attach no importance to this desire to cling to the word "Bolshevism", for I know *such* "old Bolsheviks" from whom God save us. I can only say that the author's proclamation of "Bolshevism on a West-European scale" is, I am deeply convinced, neither Bolshevism nor Marxism, but a minor variant of the same old Economism.

In my view it is highly intolerable, flippant and non-Party to proclaim for a whole year the *new Bolshevism* and leave things at that. Is it not time to *think* matters out and give the comrades an articulate and integrated *exposé* of "Bolshevism on a West-European scale"?

The author has not proved and will not prove the difference between colonies and oppressed nations in Europe (as applied to the question under discussion).

The Dutch and the P.S.D.* rejection of self-determination is *not only*, and even not so much, the result of confusion, for Gorter factually accepts it, and so does the Zimmerwald statement of the Poles,[16] but rather the result of the *special* position of their *nations* (small nations with *centuries-old* traditions and pretentions to *Great-Power status*).

It is extremely thoughtless and naïve to take over and mechanically and uncritically repeat what in others has developed over decades of struggle against the nationalist bourgeoisie and its deception of the people. Here we have a case of people taking over *precisely* what should not be taken over.

Written August-September 1916
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Signed: *N. Lenin*

Published according to the manuscript

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* Polish Social-Democratic Party.—*Ed.*

REPLY TO P. KIEVSKY (Y. PYATAKOV)[17]

Like every crisis in the life of individuals or in the history of nations, war oppresses and breaks some, steels and enlightens others.

The truth of that is making itself felt in Social-Democratic thinking on the war and in connection with the war. It is one thing to give serious thought to the causes and significance of an imperialist war that grows out of highly developed capitalism, Social-Democratic tactics in connection with such a war, the causes of the crisis within the Social-Democratic movement, and so on. But it is quite another to allow the war to *oppress* your thinking, to stop thinking and analysing *under the weight* of the terrible impressions and tormenting consequences or features of the war.

One such form of *oppression* or *repression* of human thinking caused by the war is the contemptuous attitude of imperialist Economism towards *democracy*. P. Kievsky does not notice that running like a red thread through all his arguments is this war-inspired oppression, this fear, this refusal to analyse. What point is there in discussing defence of the fatherland when we are in the midst of such a terrible holocaust? What point is there in discussing nations' rights when outright strangulation is everywhere the rule? Self-determination and "independence" of nations—but look what they have done to "independent" Greece! What is the use of talking and thinking of "rights", when rights are everywhere being trampled upon in the interests of the militarists! What sense is there in talking and thinking of a republic, when there is absolutely no difference whatsoever between the most democratic republics and the most reactionary monarchies, when the war has obliterated every trace of difference!

Kievsky is very angry when told that he has given way to fear, to the extent of rejecting democracy in general. He is angry and objects: I am not against democracy, only against *one* democratic demand, which I consider "bad". But though Kievsky is offended, and though he "*assures*" us (and himself as well, perhaps) that he is not at all "against" democracy, his *arguments*—or, more correctly, the endless *errors* in his arguments—*prove* the very opposite.

Defence of the fatherland is a lie in an imperialist war, but not in a democratic and revolutionary war. All talk of "rights" seems absurd during a war, because *every* war replaces rights by direct and outright violence. But that should not lead us to forget that history has known in the past (and very likely will know, must know, in the future) wars (democratic and revolutionary wars) which, while replacing every kind of "right", every kind of democracy, by violence during the war, nevertheless, in their social content and implications, *served* the cause of democracy, and *consequently* socialism. The example of Greece, it would seem, "refutes" all national self-determination. But if you stop to think, analyse and weigh matters, and do not allow yourself to be deafened by the sound of words or frightened and oppressed by the nightmarish impressions of the war, then this example is no more serious or convincing than ridiculing the republican system because the "democratic" republics, the most democratic—not only France, but also the United States, Portugal and Switzerland—have already introduced or are introducing, in the course of this war, exactly the same kind of militarist arbitrariness that exists in Russia.

That imperialist war obliterates the difference between republic and monarchy is a fact. But to therefore reject the republic, or even be contemptuous towards it, is to allow oneself to be frightened by the war, and one's thinking to be *oppressed* by its horrors. That is the mentality of many supporters of the "disarmament" slogan (Roland-Holst, the younger element in Switzerland, the Scandinavian "Lefts"[18] and others). What, they imply, is the use of discussing revolutionary utilisation of the army or a militia when there is no difference in this war between a republican militia and a monarchist standing army, and when militarism is *everywhere* doing its horrible work?

That is all *one* trend of thought, *one and the same* theoretical and practical political error Kievsky unwitting, makes at every step. He *thinks* he is arguing only against self-determination, he *wants* to argue only against self determination, but the *result*—against his will and conscience, and that is the curious thing!—is that he has adduced *not a single* argument which could not be just as well applied to democracy in general!

The real source of all his curious logical errors and confusion—and this applies not only to self-determination, but also to defence of the fatherland, divorce, "rights" in general—lies in the *oppression* of his thinking by the war, which makes him completely distort the Marxist position on democracy.

Imperialism is highly developed capitalism; imperialism is progressive; imperialism *is* the negation of democracy—"hence", democracy is "unattainable" under capitalism. Imperialist war is a flagrant violation of all democracy, whether in backward monarchies or progressive republics—"hence", there is no point in talking of "rights" (i.e., democracy!) . The "only" thing that can be "opposed" to imperialist war is socialism; socialism alone is "the way out"; "hence", to advance democratic slogans in our minimum programme, i.e., under capitalism, is a deception or an illusion, befuddlement or postponement, etc., of the slogan of socialist revolution.

Though Kievsky does not realise it, that is the real source of all his mishaps. That is his *basic* logical error which, precisely because it is basic and is not realised by the author, "*explodes*" at every step like a punctured bicycle tire. It "bursts out" now on the question of defending the fatherland, now on the question of divorce, now in the phrase about "rights", in this remarkable phrase (remarkable for its utter contempt for "rights" and its utter failure to understand the issue): we shall discuss *not* rights, *but* the destruction of age-old slavery!

To say that is to show a lack of understanding of the relationship between capitalism and democracy, between socialism and democracy.

Capitalism in general, and imperialism in particular, turn democracy into an illusion—though at the same time capi-

talism engenders democratic aspirations in the masses, creates democratic institutions, aggravates the antagonism between imperialism's denial of democracy and the mass striving for democracy. Capitalism and imperialism can be overthrown only by economic revolution. They cannot be overthrown by democratic transformations, even the most "ideal". But a proletariat not schooled in the struggle for democracy is incapable of performing an economic revolution. Capitalism cannot be vanquished without *taking over the banks*, without repealing *private ownership* of the means of production. These revolutionary measures, however, cannot be implemented without organising the entire people for democratic administration of the means of production captured from the bourgeoisie, without enlisting the entire mass of the working people, the proletarians, semi-proletarians and small peasants, for the democratic organisation of their ranks, their forces, their participation in state affairs. Imperialist war may be said to be a triple negation of democracy (*a*. every war replaces "rights" by violence; *b*. imperialism as such is the negation of democracy; *c*. imperialist war fully equates the republic with the monarchy), but the awakening and growth of socialist revolt against imperialism are *indissolubly* linked with the growth of democratic resistance and unrest. Socialism leads to the withering away of *every* state, consequently also of every democracy, but socialism can be implemented only *through* the dictatorship of the proletariat, which combines violence against the bourgeoisie, i.e., the minority of the population, with *full* development of democracy, i.e., the genuinely equal and genuinely universal participation of the *entire* mass of the population in all *state* affairs and in all the complex problems of abolishing capitalism.

It is in these "contradictions" that Kievsky, having forgotten the Marxist teaching on democracy, got himself confused. Figuratively speaking, the war has so oppressed his thinking that he uses the agitational slogan "break out of imperialism" to replace all thinking, just as the cry "get out of the colonies" is used to replace analysis of what, properly speaking, is the *meaning*—economically and politically—of the civilised nations "getting out of the colonies".

The Marxist solution of the problem of democracy is for the proletariat to *utilise all* democratic institutions and aspirations in its class struggle against the bourgeoisie in order to prepare for its overthrow and assure its own victory. Such utilisation is no easy task. To the Economists, Tolstoyans, etc., it often seems an unpardonable concession to "bourgeois" and opportunist views, just as to Kievsky defence of national self-determination "in the epoch of finance capital" seems an unpardonable concession to bourgeois views. Marxism teaches us that to "fight opportunism" by renouncing utilisation of the democratic institutions created and distorted by the bourgeoisie of the *given*, capitalist, society is to *completely surrender* to opportunism!

The slogan of *civil war* for socialism indicates the quick[ ]est way out of the imperialist war and *links* our struggle against the war with our struggle against opportunism. It is the only slogan that correctly takes into account both war-time peculiarities—the war is dragging out and threatening to grow into a whole "epoch" of war—and the general character of our activities as distinct from opportunism with its pacifism, legalism and adaptation to one's "own" bourgeoisie. In addition, civil war against the bourgeoisie is a *democratically* organised and *democratically* conducted war of the propertyless mass against the propertied minority. But civil war, like every other, must inevitably replace rights by violence. However, violence in the name of the interests and rights of the majority is of a different nature: it tramples on the "rights" of the exploiters, the bourgeoisie, it is *unachievable* without democratic organisation of the army and the "rear". Civil war forcibly expropriates, immediately and first of all, the banks, factories, railways, the big estates, etc. But *in order* to expropriate all this, we shall have to introduce election of all officials and officers by the people, *completely merge* the army conducting the war against the bourgeoisie with the mass of the population, completely democratise administration of the food supply, the production and distribution of food, etc. The object of civil war is to seize the banks, factories, etc., destroy all possibility of resistance by the bourgeoisie, destroy *its* armed forces. But that aim cannot be achieved *either* in its purely military, *or* economic, *or* political aspects, unless we, during the

war, simultaneously introduce and extend democracy among *our* armed forces and in *our* "rear". We tell the masses now (and they instinctively feel that we are right): "They are deceiving you in making you fight for imperialist capitalism in a war disguised by the great slogans of democracy. You must, you shall wage a *genuinely* democratic war *against* the bourgeoisie for the achievement of genuine democracy and socialism." The present war unites and "merges" nations into coalitions by means of violence and financial dependence. In our civil war against the bourgeoisie, *we* shall unite and merge the nations *not* by the force of the ruble, *not* by the force of the truncheon, not by violence, but by *voluntary* agreement and solidarity of the working people against the exploiters. For the bourgeoisie the proclamation of equal rights for all nations has become a deception. For us it will be the truth that will facilitate and accelerate the winning over of all nations. Without effectively organised *democratic* relations between nations—and, consequently, without freedom of secession—civil war of the workers and working people generally of all nations against the bourgeoisie is *impossible*.

Through utilisation of bourgeois democracy to socialist and consistently democratic organisation of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and against opportunism. There is no other path. There is *no* other way out. Marxism, just as life itself, knows no other way out. In this path we must include free secession and free merging of nations, we must not fight shy of them, not fear that they will "defile" the "purity" of our economic aims.

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A CARICATURE OF MARXISM AND IMPERIALIST ECONOMISM[19]

"No one can discredit revolutionary Social-Democracy as long as it does not discredit itself." That maxim always comes to mind, and must always be borne in mind, when any major theoretical or tactical proposition of Marxism is victorious, or even placed on the order of the day, and when, *besides* outright and resolute opponents, it is assailed by friends who hopelessly discredit and disparage it and turn it into a caricature. That has happened time and again in the history of the Russian Social-Democratic movement. In the early nineties, the victory of Marxism in the revolutionary movement was attended by the emergence of a caricature of Marxism in the shape of Economism, or "strikeism". The Iskrists[20] would not have been able to uphold the fundamentals of proletarian theory and policy, either against petty-bourgeois Narodism or bourgeois liberalism, without long years of struggle against Economism. It was the same with Bolshevism, which triumphed in the mass labour movement in 1905 due, among other things, to correct application of the boycott of the tsarist Duma[21] slogan in the autumn of 1905, when the key battles of the Russian revolution were being fought. Bolshevism had to face—and overcome by struggle—another caricature in 1908-10, when Alexinsky and others noisily opposed participation in the Third Duma.[22]

It is the same today too. Recognition of the *present* war as imperialist and emphasis on *its* close connection with the imperialist era of capitalism encounters not only resolute opponents, but also irresolute friends, for whom the word "imperialism" has become all the rage. Having *memorised*

the word, they are offering the workers hopelessly confused theories and reviving many of the old mistakes of the old Economism. Capitalism has triumphed—*therefore* there is no need to bother with political problems, the old Economists reasoned in 1894-1901, falling into rejection of the political struggle in Russia. Imperialism has triumphed—*therefore* there is no need to bother with the problems of political democracy, reason the present-day imperialist Economists. Kievsky's article, printed above, merits attention as a sample of these sentiments, as one such caricature of Marxism, as the first attempt to provide anything like an integral literary exposition of the vacillation that has been apparent in certain circles of our Party abroad since early 1915.

If imperialist Economism were to spread among the Marxists, who in the present great crisis of socialism have resolutely come out against social-chauvinism and for revolutionary internationalism, that would be a very grave blow to our trend—and to our Party. For it would discredit it from within, from its own ranks, would make it a vehicle of caricaturised Marxism. It is therefore necessary to thoroughly discuss at least the most important of Kievsky's numerous errors, regardless of how "uninteresting" this may be, and regardless of the fact, also, that all too often we shall have to tediously explain elementary truths which the thoughtful and attentive reader has learned and understood long since from our literature of 1914 and 1915.

We shall begin with the "central" point of Kievsky's disquisitions in order to immediately bring to the reader the very "substance" of this new trend of imperialist Economism.

1. THE MARXIST ATTITUDE TOWARDS WAR AND "DEFENSE OF THE FATHERLAND"

Kievsky is convinced, and wants to convince his reader, that he "disagrees" *only* with §9 of our Party Programme dealing with national self-determination. He is very angry and tries to refute the charge that on the question of democracy he is departing from the fundamentals of Marxism

in general, that he has "betrayed" (the angry quotation marks are Kievsky's) Marxism on basic issues. But the point is that the moment our author begins to discuss his allegedly partial disagreement on an individual issue, the moment he adduces his arguments, considerations, etc., he immediately reveals that he is deviating from Marxism all along the line. Take §b (Section 2) of his article. "This demand [i.e., national self-determination] directly [!!] leads to social-patriotism," our author proclaims, explaining that the "treasonous" slogan of fatherland defence follows "quite [!] logically [!] from the right of nations to self-determination".... In his opinion, self-determination implies "sanctioning the treason of the French and Belgian social-patriots, who are defending this independence [the national independence of France and Belgium] with arms in hand! They are *doing* what the supporters of 'self-determination' only advocate...." "Defence of the fatherland belongs to the arsenal of our worst enemies...." "We categorically refuse to understand how one can *simultaneously* be against defence of the fatherland and for self-determination, against the fatherland and for it."

That's Kievsky. He obviously has not understood our resolutions against the fatherland defence slogan in the present war. It is therefore necessary again to explain the meaning of what is so clearly set out in our resolutions.

The resolution our Party adopted at its Berne Conference in March 1915, "On the Defence of the Fatherland Slogan",* begins with the words: "*The present war is*, *in substance*"....

That the resolution deals with the *present* war could not have been put more plainly. The words "in substance" indicate that we must distinguish between the apparent and the real, between appearance and substance, between the word and the deed. The purpose of all talk about defence of the fatherland in this war is mendaciously to present as national the imperialist war of 1914-16, waged for the division of colonies, the plunder of foreign lands, etc. And to obviate even the slightest possibility of distorting our views, we added to the resolution a special paragraph on "*genuinely* national wars", which "took place *especially* (especially does not mean exclusively!) between 1789 and 1871".

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* See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 158-64—*Ed*.

The resolution explains that the "basis" of these "genuinely" national wars was a "long process of mass national movements, of a struggle against absolutism and feudalism, the overthrow of national oppression"....

Clear, it would seem. The present imperialist war stems from the general conditions of the imperialist era and is not accidental, not an exception, not a deviation from the general and typical. Talk of defence of the fatherland is therefore a deception of the people, for this war is *not* a national war. In a *genuinely* national war the words "defence of the fatherland" are *not* a deception and *we are not opposed to it*. Such (genuinely national) wars took place "especially" in 1789-1871, and our resolution, while not denying by a single word that they are possible now too, explains how we should distinguish a genuinely national from an imperialist war covered by deceptive national slogans. Specifically, in order to distinguish the two we must examine whether the "basis" of the war is a "long process of mass national movements", the "overthrow of national oppression". The resolution on "pacifism" expressly states: "Social-Democrats cannot overlook the positive significance of revolutionary wars, i.e., not imperialist wars, but such as were conducted, for instance [note: "for instance"], between 1789 and 1871 with the aim of doing away with national oppression...." Could our 1915 Party resolution speak of the national wars waged from 1789 to 1871 and say that we do not deny the positive significance of such wars if they were not considered possible today too? Certainly not.

A commentary, or popular explanation, of our Party resolutions is given in the Lenin and Zinoviev pamphlet *Socialism and War*. It plainly states, on page 5, that "socialists have regarded wars 'for the defence of the fatherland', or 'defensive' wars, as legitimate, progressive and just" *only* in the sense of "overthrowing alien oppression". It cites an example: Persia against Russia, "*etc.*", and says: "These would be just, and defensive wars, irrespective of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressor, slave-holding and predatory 'Great' Powers."*

* See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 300-01.—*Ed.*

The pamphlet appeared in August 1915 and there are German and French translations. Kievsky is fully aware of its contents. And never, on no occasion, has he or anyone else challenged the resolution on the defence of the fatherland slogan, or the resolution on pacifism, or their interpretation in the pamphlet. Never, not once! We are therefore entitled to ask: are we slandering Kievsky when we say that he has absolutely failed to understand Marxism if, beginning with March 1915, he has not challenged our Party's views on the war, whereas now, in August 1916, in an article on self-determination, i.e., on a supposedly partial issue, he reveals an amazing lack of understanding of a *general* issue?

Kievsky says that the fatherland defence slogan is "treasonous". We can confidently assure him that *every* slogan is and always will be "treasonous" *for those* who mechanically repeat it without understanding its meaning, without giving it proper thought, *for those* who merely memorise the words without analysing their implications.

What, generally speaking, is "defence of the fatherland"? Is it a scientific concept relating to economics, politics, etc.? No. It is a much bandied about current expression, sometimes simply a philistine phrase, intended to *justify the war*. Nothing more. Absolutely nothing! The term "treasonous" can apply only in the sense that the philistine is capable of justifying *any* war by pleading "we are defending our fatherland", whereas Marxism, which does not degrade itself by stooping to the philistine's level, requires an historical analysis of each war in order to determine whether or not *that particular* war can be considered progressive, whether it serves the interests of democracy and the proletariat and, in *that sense*, is legitimate, just, etc.

The defence of the fatherland slogan is all too often unconscious philistine justification of war and reveals inability to analyse the meaning and implications of a particular war and see it in historical perspective.

Marxism makes that analysis and says: *if* the "substance" of a war is, *for example*, the overthrow of alien oppression (which was *especially* typical of Europe in 1789-1871), then such a war is progressive as far as the oppressed state or nation is concerned. *If*, however, the "substance" of a war is redivision of colonies, division of booty, plunder of foreign

lands (and such is the war of 1914-16), then all talk of defending the fatherland is "sheer deception of the people".

How, then, can we disclose and define the "substance" of a war? War is the continuation of policy. Consequently, we must examine the policy pursued prior to the war, the policy that led to and brought about the war. If it was an imperialist policy, i.e., one designed to safeguard the interests of finance capital and rob and oppress colonies and foreign countries, then the war stemming from that policy is imperialist. If it was a national liberation policy, i.e., one expressive of the mass movement against national oppression, then the war stemming from that policy is a war of national liberation.

The philistine does not realise that war is "the continuation of policy", and consequently limits himself to the formula that "the enemy has attacked us", "the enemy has invaded my country", without stopping to think *what issues* are at stake in the war, *which* classes are waging it, and with *what* political objects. Kievsky stoops right down to the level of such a philistine when he declares that Belgium has been occupied by the Germans, and hence, from the point of view of self-determination, the "Belgian social-patriots are right", or: the Germans have occupied part of France, hence, "Guesde can be satisfied", for "what is involved is territory populated by his nation" (and not by an alien nation).

For the philistine the important thing is *where* the armies stand, who is winning *at the moment*. For the Marxist the important thing is *what issues* are at stake in *this* war, during which first one, then the other army may be on top.

What is the present war being fought over? The answer is given in our resolution (based on the policy the belligerent powers pursued for decades prior to the war). England, France and Russia are fighting to keep the colonies they have seized, to be able to rob Turkey, etc. Germany is fighting to take over these colonies and to be able herself to rob Turkey, etc. Let us suppose even that the Germans take Paris or St. Petersburg. Would that change the nature of the present war? Not at all. The Germans' purpose—and more important, the policy that would bring it to realisation if they were to win—is to seize the colonies, establish

domination over Turkey, annex areas populated by other nations, for instance, Poland, etc. It is definitely not to bring the French or the Russians under foreign domination. The real nature of the present war is not national but imperialist. In other words, it is not being fought to enable one side to overthrow national oppression, which the other side is trying to maintain. It is a war between two groups of oppressors, between two freebooters over the division of their booty, over who shall rob Turkey and the colonies.

In short: a war *between* imperialist Great Powers (i.e., powers that oppress a whole number of nations and enmesh them in dependence on finance capital, etc.), or *in alliance* with the Great Powers, is an imperialist war. Such is the war of 1914-16. And in *this* war "defence of the fatherland" is a deception, an attempt to justify the war.

A war *against* imperialist, i.e., oppressing, powers by oppressed (for example, colonial) nations is a genuine national war. It is possible today too. "Defence of the fatherland" in a war waged by an oppressed nation against a foreign oppressor is not a deception. Socialists are *not* opposed to "defence of the fatherland" in *such* a war.

National self-determination is the same as the struggle for complete national liberation, for complete independence, against annexation, and socialists *cannot*—without ceasing to be socialists—reject *such* a struggle in whatever form, right down to an uprising or war.

Kievsky thinks he is arguing against Plekhanov: it was Plekhanov who pointed to the link between self-determination and defence of the fatherland! Kievsky *believed* Plekhanov that the link was *really* of the kind Plekhanov made it out to be. And having believed him, Kievsky took fright and decided that he must reject self-determination so as not to fall into Plekhanov's conclusions.... There is great trust in Plekhanov, and great fright, but there is no trace of *thought* about the substance of Plekhanov's mistake!

The social-chauvinists plead self-determination in order to present this war as a national war. There is only one correct way of combating them: we must show that the war is being fought not to liberate nations, but to determine which of the great robbers will oppress *more* nations. To fall into

negation of wars *really* waged for liberating nations is to present the worst possible caricature of Marxism. Plekhanov and the French social-chauvinists harp on the republic in France in order to justify its "defence" against the German monarchy. If we were to follow Kievsky's line of reasoning, we would have to oppose either the republic or a war *really* fought to preserve the republic!! The German social-chauvinists point to universal suffrage and compulsory primary education in their country to justify its "defence" against tsarism. If we were to follow Kievsky's line of reasoning, we would have to oppose either universal suffrage and compulsory primary education or a war *really* fought to safeguard political freedom against attempts to abolish it!

Up to the 1914-16 war Karl Kautsky was a Marxist, and many of his major writings and statements will always remain models of Marxism. On August 26, 1910, he wrote in *Die Neue Zeit*,[23] in reference to the imminent war:

"In a war between Germany and England the issue is not democracy, but world domination, i.e., exploitation of the world. That is not an issue on which Social-Democrats can side with the exploiters of their nation" (*Neue Zeit*, 28. Jahrg., Bd. 2, S. 776).

There you have an excellent Marxist formulation, one that fully coincides with our own and fully exposes the *present-day* Kautsky, who has turned from Marxism to defence of social-chauvinism. It is a formulation (we shall have occasion to revert to it in other articles) that clearly brings out the principles underlying the Marxist attitude towards war. War is the continuation of policy. Hence, once there is a struggle for democracy, a war for democracy is *possible*. National self-determination is but one of the democratic demands and does not, in principle, differ from other democratic demands. "World domination" is, to put it briefly, the substance of imperialist policy, of which imperialist war is the continuation. Rejection of "defence of the fatherland" in a democratic war, *i.e.*, rejecting participation in such a war, is an absurdity that has nothing in common with Marxism. To embellish imperialist war by applying to it the concept of "defence of the fatherland", i.e., by presenting it as a democratic war, is to deceive the workers and side with the reactionary bourgeoisie.

2. "OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEW ERA"

The heading is Kievsky's. He constantly speaks of a "new era", but here, too, unfortunately his arguments are erroneous.

Our Party resolutions speak of the present war as stemming from the general conditions of the imperialist era. We give a correct Marxist definition of the relation between the "era" and the "present war": Marxism requires a concrete assessment of each separate war. To understand why an imperialist war, i.e., a war thoroughly reactionary and anti-democratic in its political implications, could, and inevitably did, break out between the Great Powers, many of whom stood at the head of the struggle for democracy in 1789-1871—to understand this we must understand the general conditions of the imperialist era, i.e., the transformation of capitalism in the advanced countries into imperialism.

Kievsky has flagrantly distorted the relation between the "era" and the "present war". In his reasoning, to consider the matter *concretely* means to examine the "era". That is precisely where he is wrong.

The era 1789-1871 was of special significance for Europe. That is irrefutable. We cannot understand a single national liberation war, and such wars were especially typical of that period, unless we understand the general conditions of the period. Does that mean that *all* wars of that period were national liberation wars? Certainly not. To hold that view is to reduce the whole thing to an absurdity and apply a ridiculous stereotype in place of a concrete analysis of each separate war. There were also colonial wars in 1789-1871, and wars between reactionary empires that oppressed many nations.

Advanced European (and American) capitalism has entered a new era of imperialism. Does it follow from that that only imperialist wars are now possible? Any such contention would be absurd. It would reveal inability to distinguish a given concrete phenomenon from the sum total of variegated phenomena possible in a given era. An era is called an era precisely because it encompasses the sum total of variegated phenomena and wars, typical and untypical, big and small, some peculiar to advanced countries, others

to backward countries. To brush aside these concrete questions by resorting to general phrases about the "era", as Kievsky does, is to abuse the very concept "era". And to prove that, we shall cite one example out of many. But first it should be noted that *one* group of Lefts, namely, the German *Internationale* group,[24] has advanced this manifestly erroneous proposition in § 5 of its theses, published in No. 3 of the *Bulletin of the Berne Executive Committee* (February 29, 1916): "National wars *are no longer possible* in the era of this unbridled imperialism." We analysed that statement* in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*.[25] Here we need merely note that though everyone who has followed the internationalist movement is long acquainted with this theoretical proposition (we opposed it way back in the spring of 1916 at the extended meeting of the Berne Executive Committee), *not a single group* has repeated or accepted it. And there is not a single word in the spirit of this or any similar proposition in Kievsky's article, written in August 1916.

That should be noted, and for the following reason: if this or a similar theoretical proposition were advanced, then we could speak of theoretical divergencies. But since *no* such proposition has been advanced, we are constrained to say: what we have is not a different interpretation of the concept "era", not a theoretical divergency, but merely a carelessly uttered phrase, merely abuse of the word "era".

Here is an example. Kievsky starts his article by asking: "Is not this (self-determination) the same as the right to receive free of charge 10,000 acres of land on Mars? The question can be answered only in the most concrete manner, only in context with the nature of the present era. The right of nations to self-determination is one thing in the era of the formation of national states, as the best form of developing the productive forces at their then existing level, but it is quite another thing now that this form, the national state, fetters the development of the productive forces. A vast distance separates the era of the establishment of capitalism and the national state from the era of the collapse of the national state and the eve of the collapse of capitalism itself.

* See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 308-13.—*Ed.*

To discuss things in 'general', out of context with time and space, does not befit a Marxist."

There you have a sample of caricaturing the concept "imperialist era". And its caricature must be fought precisely because it is a new and important concept! What do we mean when we say that national states have become fetters, etc.? We have in mind the advanced capitalist countries, above all Germany, France, England, whose participation in the present war has been the chief factor in making it an imperialist war. In *these* countries, which hitherto have been in the van of mankind, particularly in 1789-1871, the process of forming national states has been consummated. In *these* countries the national movement is a thing of an irrevocable past, and it would be an absurd reactionary utopia to try to revive it. The national movement of the French, English, Germans has long been completed. In *these* countries history's next step is a different one: liberated nations have become transformed into oppressor nations, into nations of imperialist rapine, nations that are going through the "eve of the collapse of capitalism".

But what of other nations?

Kievsky repeats, like a rule learned by rote, that Marxists should approach things "concretely", but he does *not* apply that rule. In our theses, on the other hand, we deliberately gave an example of a concrete approach, and Kievsky did not wish to point out our mistake, if he found one.

Our theses (§6) state that to be concrete not less than *three* different types of countries must be distinguished when dealing with self-determination. (It was clearly impossible to discuss each separate country in general theses.) First type: the advanced countries of Western Europe (and America), where the national movement is a thing of the *past*. Second type: Eastern Europe, where it is a thing of the *present*. Third type: semi-colonies and colonies, where it is largely a thing of the *future*.*

Is this correct or not? *This* is what Kievsky should have levelled his criticism at. But he does not see the *essence* of the theoretical problems! He fails to see that unless he refutes the above-mentioned proposition (in §6) of our

* See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 150-52 .—*Ed*.

theses—and it cannot be refuted because it is correct his disquisitions about the "era" resemble a man brandishing his sword but striking no blows.

"In contrast to V. Ilyin's opinion," he writes at the end of his article, "we assume that for the majority [!] of Western [!] countries the national problem has not been settled...."

And so, the national movements of the French, Spaniards, English, Dutch, Germans and Italians were not consummated in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and earlier? At the beginning of the article the concept "era of imperialism" is distorted to make it appear that the national movement has been consummated in general, and not only in the advanced Western countries. At the end of the same article the "national problem" is declared "not settled" in *precisely* the Western countries!! Is that not a muddle?

In the Western countries the national movement is a thing of the distant past. In England, France, Germany, etc., the "fatherland" is a dead letter, it has played its historical role, *i.e.*, the national movement cannot yield here anything progressive, anything that will elevate new masses to a new economic and political life. History's next step here is not transition from feudalism or from patriarchal savagery to national progress, to a cultured and politically free fatherland, but transition from a "fatherland" that has outlived its day, that is capitalistically overripe, to socialism.

The position is different in Eastern Europe. As far as the Ukrainians and Byelorussians, for instance, are concerned, only a Martian dreamer could deny that the national movement has not yet been consummated there, that the awakening of the masses to the full use of their mother tongue and literature (and this is an absolute condition and concomitant of the full development of capitalism, of the full penetration of exchange to the very last peasant family) is *still* going on there. The "fatherland" is historically not *yet* quite a dead letter there. There the "defence of the fatherland" can *still* be defence of democracy, of one's native language, of political liberty against oppressor nations, against medievalism, whereas the English, French, Germans and Italians lie when they speak of defending their fatherland in the present war, because actually what they are defending is *not* their native language, *not* their right to nation-

al development, but their rights as slave-holders, their colonies, the foreign "spheres of influence" of their finance capital, etc.

In the semi-colonies and colonies the national movement is, historically, still younger than in Eastern Europe.

What do the words "advanced countries" and imperialist era refer to? In *what* lies the "special" position of Russia (heading of § e in the second chapter of Kievsky's article), and not only Russia? *Where* is the national liberation movement a false phrase and *where* is it a living and progressive reality? Kievsky reveals no understanding on any of these points.

3. WHAT IS ECONOMIC ANALYSIS?

Central to all the disquisitions of the self-determination opponents is the claim that it is generally "unachievable" under capitalism or imperialism. The word "unachievable" is frequently used in widely different and inaccurately defined meanings. That is why in our theses we insisted on what is essential in any theoretical discussion: an explanation of what is meant by "unachievable". Nor did we confine ourselves to that. We tried to give such an explanation. *All* democratic demands are "unachievable" under imperialism in the sense that politically they are hard to achieve or totally unachievable without a series of revolutions.

It is fundamentally wrong, however, to maintain that self-determination is unachievable in the economic sense.

That has been our contention. It is the pivotal point of our theoretical differences, a question to which our opponents in any serious discussion should have paid due attention.

But just see how Kievsky treats the question.

He definitely rejects unachievable as meaning "hard to achieve" politically. He gives a direct answer in the sense of economic unachievability.

"Does this mean," Kievsky writes, "that self-determination under imperialism is just as unachievable as labour money under commodity production?" And he replies: "Yes, it means exactly that. For what we are discussing is the logical contradiction between two social categories: 'imperialism' and 'self-determination of nations', the same logical contra-

diction as that between two other categories: labour money and commodity production. Imperialism is the negation of self-determination, and no magician can reconcile the two."

Frightening as is the angry word "magician" Kievsky hurls at us, we must nevertheless point out that he simply fails to understand what economic analysis implies. There should be no "logical contradiction"—providing, of course, that there is proper logical thinking—*either* in an economic *or* political analysis. Hence, to plead a "logical contradiction" *in general* when what we are discussing is economic and *not* political analysis, is completely irrelevant. *Both* economic and political phenomena come within "social categories". Consequently, having first replied directly and definitely: "Yes, it means exactly that" (i.e., self-determination is *just as* unachievable as labour money under commodity production), Kievsky dismisses the whole matter by beating about the bush, without offering any economic analysis.

How do we prove that labour money is unachievable under commodity production? By economic analysis. And economic analysis, like every other, rules out "logical contradictions", takes economic and *only* economic categories (and not "social categories" in general) and from them concludes that labour money is unachievable. In the first chapter of *Capital* there is no mention whatever of politics, or political forms, or "social categories": the analysis applies *only* to economic phenomena, commodity exchange, its development. Economic analysis shows—needless to say, through "logical" arguments—that under commodity production labour money is unachievable.

Kievsky does not even attempt anything approximating an economic analysis! He *confuses* the economic substance of imperialism with its political tendencies, as is obvious from the very first phrase of the very first paragraph of his article. Here is that phrase:

"Industrial capital is the synthesis of pre-capitalist production and merchant-usurer capital. Usurer capital becomes the servant of industrial capital. Then capitalism subjects the various forms of capital and there emerges its highest, unified type—finance capital. The whole era can therefore be designated as the era of finance capital, of which imperialism is the corresponding foreign-policy system."

Economically, that definition is absolutely worthless: instead of precise economic categories we get mere phrases. However, it is impossible to dwell on that now. The important thing is that Kievsky proclaims imperialism to be a "foreign-policy system".

First, this is, essentially, a wrong repetition of Kautsky's wrong idea.

Second, it is a purely political, and only political, definition of imperialism. By defining imperialism as a "system of policy" Kievsky wants to avoid the *economic* analysis he promised to give when he declared that self-determination was "*just as*" unachievable, i.e., economically unachievable under imperialism as labour money under commodity production!*

In his controversy with the Lefts, Kautsky declared that imperialism was "merely a system of foreign *policy*" (namely, annexation), and that it would be wrong to describe as imperialism a definite economic stage, or level, in the development of capitalism.

Kautsky is wrong. Of course, it is not proper to argue about words. You cannot prohibit the use of the "word" imperialism in this sense or any other. But if you want to conduct a discussion you must define your terms precisely.

Economically, imperialism (or the "era" of finance capital—it is not a matter of words) is the highest stage in the development of capitalism, one in which production has assumed such big, immense proportions that *free competition gives way to monopoly*. That is the *economic* essence of imperialism. Monopoly manifests itself in trusts, syndicates, etc., in the omnipotence of the giant banks, in the buying up of raw material sources, etc., in the concentration of banking capital, etc. Everything hinges on economic monopoly.

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* Is Kievsky aware of the impolite word Marx used in reference to such "logical methods"? *Without applying* this impolite term to Kievsky, we nevertheless are obliged to remark that Marx described such methods as "fraudulent": arbitrarily inserting precisely what is at issue, precisely what has to be proved, in *defining* a concept.

We repeat, we do *not* apply Marx's impolite expression to Kievsky. We merely disclose the source of his mistake. (In the manuscript this passage is crossed out.—*Ed.*)

The political superstructure of this new economy, of monopoly capitalism (imperialism is monopoly capitalism), is the change *from* democracy *to* political reaction. Democracy corresponds to free competition. Political reaction corresponds to monopoly. "Finance capital strives for domination, not freedom," Rudolf Hilferding rightly remarks in his *Finance Capital*.

It is fundamentally wrong, un-Marxist and unscientific, to single out "foreign policy" from policy in general, let alone counterpose foreign policy to home policy. Both in foreign and home policy imperialism strives towards violations of democracy, towards reaction. In this sense imperialism is indisputably the "negation" of *democracy in general*, of *all democracy*, and not just of *one* of its demands, national self-determination.

Being a "negation" of democracy in general, imperialism is *also* a "negation" of democracy in the national question (i.e., national self-determination): it seeks to violate democracy. The achievement of democracy is, in the same sense, and to the same degree, harder under imperialism (compared with pre-monopoly capitalism), as the achievement of a republic, a militia, popular election of officials, etc. There can be no talk of democracy being "economically" unachievable.

Kievsky was probably led astray here by the fact (besides his general lack of understanding of the requirements of economic analysis) that the philistine regards annexation (i.e., acquisition of foreign territories against the will of their people, i.e., violation of self-determination) as equivalent to the "spread" (expansion) of finance capital to a larger economic territory.

But theoretical problems should not be approached from philistine conceptions.

Economically, imperialism is monopoly capitalism. To acquire full monopoly, all competition must be eliminated, and not only on the home market (of the given state), but also on foreign markets, in the whole world. Is it *economically* possible, "in the era of finance capital", to eliminate competition even in a foreign state? Certainly it is. It is done through a rival's financial dependence and acquisition of his sources of raw materials and eventually of all his enterprises.

The American trusts are the supreme expression of the economics of imperialism or monopoly capitalism. They do not confine themselves to economic means of eliminating rivals, but constantly resort to political, even criminal, methods. It would be the greatest mistake, however, to believe that the trusts cannot establish their monopoly by purely economic methods. Reality provides ample proof that this is "achievable": the trusts undermine their rivals' credit through the banks (the owners of the trusts become the owners of the banks: buying up shares); their supply of materials (the owners of the trusts become the owners of the railways: buying up shares); for a certain time the trusts sell below cost, spending millions on this in order to ruin a competitor and then *buy up* his enterprises, his sources of raw materials (mines, land, etc.).

There you have a purely economic analysis of the power of the trusts and their expansion. There you have the purely economic path to expansion: *buying up* mills and factories, sources of raw materials.

Big finance capital of one country can always buy up competitors in another, politically independent country and constantly does so. Economically, this is fully achievable. Economic "annexation" is *fully* "achievable" without political annexation and is widely practised. In the literature on imperialism you will constantly come across indications that Argentina, for example, is in reality a "trade colony" of Britain, or that Portugal is in reality a "vassal" of Britain, etc. And that is actually so: economic dependence upon British banks, indebtedness to Britain, British acquisition of their railways, mines, land, etc., enable Britain to "annex" these countries economically without violating their political independence.

National self-determination means political independence. Imperialism seeks to violate such independence because political annexation often makes economic annexation easier, cheaper (easier to bribe officials, secure concessions, put through advantageous legislation, etc.), more convenient, less troublesome—just as imperialism seeks to replace democracy generally by oligarchy. But to speak of the *economic* "unachievability" of self-determination under imperialism is sheer nonsense.

Kievsky gets round the theoretical difficulties by a very simple and superficial dodge, known in German as "*burschikose*" phraseology, i.e., primitive, crude phrases heard (and quite naturally) at student binges. Here is an example: "Universal suffrage," he writes, "the eight-hour day and even the republic are *logically* compatible with imperialism, though imperialism far from smiles [!!] on them and their achievement is therefore extremely difficult."

We would have absolutely no objections to the *burschikose* statement that imperialism far from "smiles" on the republic—a frivolous word can sometimes lend colour to a scientific polemic!—if in this polemic on a serious issue we were given, *in addition*, an economic and political analysis of the concepts involved. With Kievsky, however, the *burschikose* phrase does duty for such an analysis or serves to I conceal lack of it.

What can this mean: "Imperialism far from smiles on the republic"? And why?

The republic is one possible form of the political superstructure of capitalist society, and, moreover, under present-day conditions the most democratic form. To say that imperialism does not "smile" on the republic is to say that there is a contradiction between imperialism and democracy. It may very well be that Kievsky does not "smile" or even "far from smiles" on this conclusion. Nevertheless it is irrefutable.

To continue. What is the nature of this contradiction between imperialism and democracy? Is it a logical or illogical contradiction? Kievsky uses the word "logical" without stopping to think and therefore does not notice that in this particular case it serves to *conceal* (both from the reader's and author's eyes and mind) the *very question* he sets out to discuss! That question is the relation of economics to politics: the relation of economic conditions and the economic content of imperialism to a certain political form. To say that every "contradiction" revealed in human discussion is a logical contradiction is meaningless tautology. And with the aid of this tautology Kievsky evades the *substance* of the question: Is it a "logical" contradiction between two *economic* phenomena or propositions (1)? Or two *political* phenomena or propositions (2)? Or *economic* and *political* phenomena or propositions (3)?

For that is the heart of the matter, once we are discussing economic unachievability or achievability under one or another political form!

Had Kievsky not evaded the heart of the matter, he would probably have realised that the contradiction between imperialism and the republic is a contradiction between the economics of latter-day capitalism (namely, monopoly capitalism) and political democracy in general. For Kievsky will never prove that any major and fundamental democratic measure (popular election of officials or officers, complete freedom of association and assembly, etc.) is less contradictory to imperialism (or, if you like, more "smiled" upon) than the republic.

What we have, then, is the proposition *we* advanced in our theses: imperialism contradicts, "logically" contradicts, *all* political democracy *in general*. Kievsky does not "smile" on this proposition for it demolishes all his illogical constructions. But what can we do about it? Are we to accept a method that is supposed to refute certain propositions, but instead secretly advances them by using such expressions as "imperialism far from smiles on the republic"?

Further. Why does imperialism far from smile on the republic? And how does imperialism "combine" its economics with the republic?

Kievsky has given no thought to that. We would remind him of the following words of Engels in reference to the democratic republic. Can wealth dominate under this form of government? The question concerns the "contradiction" between economics and politics.

Engels replies: "The democratic republic officially knows nothing any more of property distinctions [between citizens]. In it, wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely. On the one hand, in the form of the direct corruption of officials, of which America provides the classical example; on the other hand, in the form of an alliance between government and stock exchange...."[26]

There you have an excellent example of economic analysis on the question of the "achievability" of democracy under capitalism. And the "achievability" of self-determination under imperialism is part of that question.

The democratic republic "logically" contradicts capitalism, because "officially" it puts the rich and the poor on an equal footing. That is a contradiction between the economic system and the political superstructure. There is the same contradiction between imperialism and the republic, deepened or aggravated by the fact that the change-over from free competition to monopoly makes the realisation of political freedoms even more "difficult".

How, then, is capitalism reconciled with democracy? By indirect implementation of the omnipotence of capital. There are two economic means for that: (1) direct bribery; (2) alliance of government and stock exchange. (That is stated in our theses—under a bourgeois system finance capital "can freely bribe and buy any government and any official".)

Once we have the dominance of commodity production, of the bourgeoisie, of the power of money—bribery (direct or through the stock exchange) is "achievable" under any form of government and under any kind of democracy.

What, it can be asked, is altered in this respect when capitalism gives way to imperialism, i.e., when pre-monopoly capitalism is replaced by monopoly capitalism?

Only that the power of the stock exchange increases. For finance capital is industrial capital at its highest, monopoly level which has merged with banking capital. The big banks merge with and absorb the stock exchange. (The literature on imperialism speaks of the declining role of the stock exchange, but only in the sense that every giant bank is itself virtually a stock exchange.)

Further. If "wealth" in general is fully capable of achieving domination over any democratic republic by bribery and through the stock exchange, then how can Kievsky maintain, without lapsing into a very curious "logical contradiction", that the immense wealth of the trusts and the banks, which have thousands of millions at their command, cannot "achieve" the domination of finance capital over a foreign, i.e., politically independent, republic??

Well? Bribery of officials is "unachievable" in a foreign state? Or the "alliance of government and stock exchange" applies only to one's own government?

* * *

The reader will already have seen that it requires roughly ten pages of print to untangle and popularly explain ten lines of confusion. We cannot examine every one of Kievsky's arguments in the same detail. And there is not a single one that is not confused. Nor is there really any need for this once the main arguments have been examined. The rest will be dealt with briefly.

4. THE EXAMPLE OF NORWAY

Norway "achieved" the supposedly unachievable right to self-determination in 1905, in the era of the most rampant imperialism. It is therefore not only absurd, but ludicrous, from the theoretical standpoint, to speak of "unachievability".

Kievsky wants to refute that by angrily calling us "rationalists". (What has that to do with it? The rationalist confines himself to purely abstract disquisitions, while we have pointed to a very concrete fact! But perhaps Kievsky is using the foreign word "rationalist" in the same ... how to put it more mildly? ... in the same "unhappy" manner he used the word "extractive" at the beginning of his article, when he presented his arguments "in extractive form"?)

Kievsky reproaches us. For us, he says, "the important thing is the appearance of phenomena rather than the real substance". Well, let us examine the real substance.

His refutation begins with this example: enactment of a law against trusts does not prove that their prohibition is unachievable. True enough. But the example is an unhappy one, for it militates *against* Kievsky. Laws are political measures, politics. No political measure can prohibit economic phenomena. Whatever political form Poland adopts, whether she be part of tsarist Russia or Germany, or an autonomous region, or a politically independent state, there is no prohibiting or repealing her dependence on the finance capital of the imperialist powers, or preventing that capital from buying up the shares of her industries.

The independence Norway "achieved" in 1905 was only political. It could not affect its economic dependence, nor

was this the intention. That is exactly the point made in our theses. We indicated that self-determination concerns only politics, and it would therefore be wrong even to raise the question of its economic unachievability. But here is Kievsky "refuting" this by citing an example of political bans being powerless against the economy! What a "refutation"!

To proceed. "One or even many instances of small-scale industry prevailing over large-scale industry is not sufficient to refute Marx's correct proposition that the general development of capitalism is attended by the concentration and centralisation of production."

Again, the argument is based on an unfortunate *example*, chosen to divert the attention (of the reader and the author) from the substance of the issue.

We maintain that it would be wrong to speak of the economic unachievability of self-determination in the same sense as we speak of the unachievability of labour money under capitalism. Not a single "example" of *such* achievability can be cited. Kievsky tacitly admits we are correct on this point when he shifts to *another* interpretation of "unachievability".

Why does he not do so directly? Why does he not openly and precisely formulate *his* proposition: "self-determination, while achievable in the sense that it is economically possible under capitalism, contradicts development and is therefore either reactionary or merely an exception"?

He does not do so because a clear formulation of this counter-proposition would immediately expose its author, and he therefore tries to conceal it.

The law of economic concentration, of the victory of large-scale production over small, is recognised in our own and the Erfurt programmes. Kievsky conceals the fact that nowhere is the law of political or state concentration recognised. If it were the same kind of law—if there were such a law—then why should not Kievsky formulate it and suggest that it be added to our programme? Is it right for him to leave us with a bad, incomplete programme, considering that he has discovered this new law of state concentration, which is of practical significance since it would rid our programme of erroneous conclusions?

Kievsky does not formulate that law, does not suggest that it be added to our programme, because he has the hazy feeling that if he did he would be making himself a laughing-stock. Everyone would laugh at this amusing imperialist Economism if it were expressed openly and if, parallel with the law that small-scale production is ousted by large-scale production, there were presented another "*law*" (connected with the first or existing side by side with it) of small states being ousted by big ones!

To explain this we shall put only one question to Kievsky: Why is it that economists (without quotation marks) do not speak of the "disintegration" of the modern trusts or big banks? Or of the possibility and achievability of such disintegration? Why is it that even the "imperialist Economist" (in quotation marks) is obliged to admit that the disintegration of big states is both possible and achievable, and not only in general, but, for example, the secession of "small nationalities" (please note!) from Russia (§ e, Chapter II of Kievsky's article)?

Lastly, to show even more clearly the length to which our author goes, and to warn him, let us note the following: We all accept the law of large-scale production ousting small-scale production, but no one is afraid to describe a specific "instance" of "small-scale industry prevailing over large-scale industry" as a reactionary phenomenon. *No* opponent of self-determination has yet ventured to describe as reactionary Norway's secession from Sweden, although we raised the question in our literature as early as 1914.*

Large-scale production is unachievable if, for instance, hand-worked machines remain. The idea of a mechanical factory "disintegrating" into handicrafts production is utterly absurd. The imperialist tendency towards big empires is fully achievable, and in practice is often achieved, in the form of an imperialist alliance of sovereign and independent —politically independent—states. Such an alliance is possible and is encountered not only in the form of an economic merger of the finance capital of two countries, but also in the form of military "co-operation" in an imperialist war. National struggle, national insurrection, national secession

* See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 425-30.—*Ed.*

are fully "achievable" and are met with in practice *under* imperialism. They are even more pronounced, for imperialism does not halt the development of capitalism and the growth of democratic tendencies among the mass of the population. On the contrary, it *accentuates* the antagonism between their democratic aspirations and the anti-democratic tendency of the trusts.

It is only from the point of view of imperialist Economism, i.e., caricaturised Marxism, that one can ignore, for instance, this specific aspect of imperialist policy: on the one hand, the present imperialist war offers examples of how the force of financial ties and economic interests draws a small, politically independent state into the struggle of the Great Powers (Britain and Portugal). On the other hand, the violation of democracy with regard to small nations, much weaker (both economically and politically) than their imperialist "patrons", leads either to revolt (Ireland) or to defection of whole regiments to the enemy (the Czechs). In this situation it is not only "achievable", from the point of view of finance capital, but *sometimes* even *profitable* for the trusts, for *their* imperialist policy, for *their* imperialist war, to allow *individual* small nations as much democratic freedom as they can, right down to political independence, so as not to risk damaging their "own" military operations. To overlook the peculiarity of political and strategic relationships and to repeat indiscriminately a world learned by rote, "imperialism", is anything but Marxism.

On Norway, Kievsky tells us, firstly, that she "had always been an independent state". That is not true and can only be explained by the author's *burschikose* carelessness and his disregard of political issues. Norway was *not* an independent state prior to 1905, though she enjoyed a very large measure of autonomy. Sweden recognised Norway's political independence only *after* her secession. If Norway "had always been an independent state", then the Swedish Government would not have informed the other powers, on October 26, 1905, that it recognised Norway's independence.

Secondly, Kievsky cites a number of statements to prove that Norway looked to the West, and Sweden to the East, that in one country mainly British, and in the other German, finance capital was "at work", etc. From this he draws the

triumphant conclusion: "This example [Norway] neatly fits into our pattern."

There you have a sample of the logic of imperialist Economism! Our theses point out that finance capital can dominate in "any", "even independent country", and all the arguments about self-determination being "unachievable" from the point of view of finance capital are therefore sheer confusion. We are given data *confirming* our proposition about the part foreign finance capital played in Norway *before* and *after* her secession. And these data are supposed to *refute* our proposition!

Dilating on finance capital in order to *disregard* political issues—is that the way to discuss politics?

No. Political issues do not disappear because of Economism's faulty logic. British finance capital was "at work" in Norway before and after secession. German finance capital was "at work" in Poland prior to her secession from Russia and will continue to "work" there *no matter* what political status Poland enjoys. That is so elementary that it is embarrassing to have to repeat it. But what can one do if the ABC is forgotten?

Does this dispense with the political question of Norway's status? With her having been part of Sweden? With the attitude of the workers when the secession issue arose?

Kievsky evades these questions because they hit hard at the Economists. But these questions were posed, and are posed, by life itself. Life itself posed the question: Could a Swedish worker who did not recognise Norway's right to secession remain a member of the Social-Democratic Party? *He could not.*

The Swedish aristocrats wanted a war against Norway, and so did the clericals. That fact does not disappear because Kievsky has "forgotten" to read about it in the history of the Norwegian people. The Swedish worker could, while remaining a Social-Democrat, urge the Norwegians to vote against secession (the Norwegian referendum on secession, held on August 13, 1905, resulted in 368,200 votes for secession and 184 against, with about 80 per cent of the electorate taking part). But the Swedish worker who, like the Swedish aristocracy and bourgeoisie, would deny the Norwegians the right to decide this question themselves, without the

Swedes and irrespective of their will, would have been a *social-chauvinist* and *a miscreant the Social-Democratic Party could not tolerate in its ranks.*

That is how §9 of our Party Programme should be applied. But our imperialist Economist tries to *jump over* this clause. You cannot jump over it, gentlemen, without falling into the embrace of chauvinism!

And what of the Norwegian worker? Was it his duty, from the internationalist point of view, to vote *for* secession? Certainly not. He could have voted against secession and remained a Social-Democrat. He would have been betraying his duty as a member of the Social-Democratic Party only if he had proffered a helping hand to a Black-Hundred Swedish worker opposed to Norway's *freedom* of secession.

Some people refuse to see this elementary difference in the position of the Norwegian and Swedish worker. But they expose themselves when they *evade* this most concrete of political questions, which we squarely put to them. They remain silent, try to wriggle out and in that way surrender their position.

To prove that the "Norwegian" issue can arise in Russia, we deliberately advanced this proposition: in circumstances of a *purely* military and strategic nature a separate Polish state is fully achievable even *now*. Kievsky wants to "discuss" that—and remains silent!

Let us add this Finland too, out of *purely* military and strategic considerations, and given a certain outcome of the *present* imperialist war (for instance, Sweden joining the Germans and the latter's semi-victory), *can* become a separate state without undermining the "achievability" of even a single operation of finance capital, without making "unachievable" the buying up of Finnish railway and industrial shares.*

* Given one outcome of the present war the formation of new states in Europe (Polish, Finnish, etc.) is fully "achievable" without in any way disturbing the conditions for the development of imperialism and its power. On the contrary, this would *increase* the influence, contacts and pressure of finance capital. But given another outcome, the formation of new states of Hungary, Czechia, etc., is *likewise* "achievable". The British imperialists are already planning this second outcome in anticipation of their victory. The imperialist era does not destroy either the striving for national political independence or its

Kievsky seeks salvation from unpleasant political issues in an amazing phrase which is amazingly characteristic of all his "arguments": "At any moment... [that is literally what he says at the end of § c, Chapter I] the Sword of Damocles can strike and put an end to the existence of an 'independent' workshop" (a "hint" at little Sweden and Norway).

That, presumably, is genuine Marxism: a separate Norwegian state, whose secession from Sweden the *Swedish* Government described as a "revolutionary measure", has been in existence only some ten years. Is there any point in examining the *political* issues that follow from this if we have read Hilferding's *Finance Capital* and "understood" it in the sense that "at any moment"—if we are to exaggerate, then let's go the whole hog!—a small state might vanish? Is there any point in drawing attention to the fact that we have perverted Marxism into Economism, and that we have turned our policy into a rehash of the speeches of case-hardened Russian chauvinists?

What a mistake the Russian workers must have made in 1905 in seeking a republic: finance capital had already been mobilised against it in France, England, etc., and "at any moment" the "Sword of Damocles" could have struck it down, if it had ever come into being!

* * *

"The demand for national self-determination is not ... utopian in the minimum programme: it does not contradict social development, inasmuch as its achievement would not halt that development." That passage from Martov is challenged by Kievsky in the section in which he cites the "statements" about Norway. They *prove*, again and again, the generally known fact that Norway's "self-determina-

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"achievability" *within the bounds* of world imperialist relationships. *Outside* these bounds, however, a republican Russia, or in general any major democratic transformations anywhere else in the world are "unachievable" without a series of revolutions and are unstable without socialism. Kievsky has wholly and completely failed to understand the relation of imperialism to democracy.

tion" and secession *did not halt either* the development of finance capital generally, *or* expansion of its operation in particular, *or* the buying up of Norway by the English!

There have been Bolsheviks among us, Alexinsky in 1908-10, for instance, who argued with Martov *precisely at a time* when Martov was right! God save us from such "allies"!

5. "MONISM AND DUALISM"

Reproaching us for "interpreting the demand dualistically", P. Kievsky writes:

"Monistic *action* of the International is replaced by dualistic *propaganda*."

That sounds quite Marxist and materialistic: monistic action is contrasted to "dualistic" propaganda. Unfortunately, closer examination reveals that it is *verbal* "monism", like the "monism" of Dühring. "If I include a shoe brush in the *unity* mammals," Engels wrote exposing Dühring's "monism", "this does not help it to get mammary glands."[27]

This means that only such things, qualities, phenomena and actions that are *a unity* in objective reality can be *declared* "a unity". It is this "*detail*" that our author overlooks!

He thinks we are "dualists", first, because what we demand, primarily, of the workers of the oppressed nations—this refers to the national question only—*differs* from what we demand of the workers of the oppressor nations.

To determine whether P. Kievsky's "monism" is the same as Dühring's, let us examine *objective realities*.

Is the *actual* condition of the workers in the oppressor and in the oppressed nations the same, from the standpoint of the national question?

No, it is not the same.

(1) *Economically*, the difference is that sections of the working class in the oppressor nations receive crumbs from the *superprofits* the bourgeoisie of these nations obtains by extra exploitation of the workers of the oppressed nations. Besides, economic statistics show that here a *larger* percentage of the workers become "straw bosses" than is the case in the oppressed nations, a *larger* percentage rise to the labour

aristocracy.* That is a fact. To a *certain degree* the workers of the oppressor nations are partners of *their own* bourgeoisie in plundering the workers (and the mass of the population) of the oppressed nations.

(2) *Politically*, the difference is that, compared with the workers of the oppressed nations, they occupy a *privileged* position in many spheres of political life.

(3) *Ideologically*, or spiritually, the difference is that they are taught, at school and in life, disdain and contempt for the workers of the oppressed nations. This has been *experienced*, for example, by every Great Russian who has been brought up or who has lived among Great Russians.

Thus, *all along the line* there are differences in objective reality, i.e., "dualism" in the objective world that is independent of the will and consciousness of individuals.

That being so, how are we to regard P. Kievsky's assertion about the "monistic action of the International"?

It is a hollow, high-sounding phrase, no more.

In *real life* the International is composed of workers *divided* into oppressor and oppressed nations. *If* its action is *to be monistic*, its propaganda must *not* be the same for both. That is how we should regard the matter in the light of real (not Dühringian) "monism", Marxist materialism.

An example? We cited the example of Norway (in the legal press over two years ago!), and no one has challenged it. In this concrete case taken from life, the *action* of the Norwegian and Swedish workers was "monistic", unified, internationalist *only* because and insofar as the Swedish workers *unconditionally* championed Norway's freedom to secede, while the Norwegian workers raised the question of secession only *conditionally*. Had the Swedish workers not supported Norway's freedom of secession *unconditionally*, they would have been *chauvinists*, accomplices of the chauvinist Swedish landlords, who wanted to "keep" Norway by force, by war. Had the Norwegian workers *not* raised the question of secession *conditionally*, i.e., allowing even Social-Democratic Party members to conduct propaganda and vote against secession, they would have failed in their internationalist duty and

* See, for instance, Hourwich's book on immigration and the condition of the working class in America, *Immigration and Labour*.—*Ed*.

would have sunk to narrow, *bourgeois* Norwegian nationalism. Why? Because the secession was being effected by the *bourgeoisie*, not by the proletariat! Because the Norwegian bourgeoisie (as every other) *always* strives to drive a wedge between the workers of its own and an "alien" country! Because for the class-conscious workers every democratic demand (including self-determination) is *subordinated* to the supreme interests of socialism. For example, if Norway's secession from Sweden had created the certainty or probability of war between Britain and Germany, the Norwegian workers, *for that reason alone*, would have had to oppose secession. The Swedish workers would have had the right and the opportunity, without ceasing to be socialists, to agitate against secession, but *only* if they had waged a systematic, consistent and constant struggle *against* the Swedish Government for Norway's *freedom* to secede. Otherwise the Norwegian workers and people *would not*, and *could not*, accept the advice of the Swedish workers as sincere.

The trouble with the opponents of self-determination is that they confine themselves to lifeless abstractions, *fearing* to analyse to the end a single concrete real-life instance. Our concrete statement in the theses that a new Polish state is quite "achievable" *now*, given a definite combination of purely military, strategic conditions,* has not been challenged either by the Poles or by P. Kievsky. But no one wanted to *ponder* the conclusions that follow from this tacit admission that we were right. And what follows, obviously, is that internationalist propaganda *cannot* be the same for the Russians and the Poles if it is to educate both for "monistic action". The Great-Russian (and German) worker is in duty bound unconditionally to insist on Poland's freedom to secede; otherwise he will, *in fact*, *now* be the lackey of Nicholas II or Hindenburg. The Polish worker *could* insist on secession *only* conditionally, because to speculate (as do the Fracy[28]) on the victory of one or the other imperialist bourgeoisie is tantamount to becoming *its* lackey. Failure to understand this difference, which is a prerequisite for "monistic action" of the International, is about the same as failing to understand why "monistic action" against the

* See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 143-56.—*Ed.*

tsarist army near Moscow, say, requires that the revolutionary forces march west from Nizhni-Novgorod and east from Smolensk.

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Second, our new exponent of Dühringian monism reproaches us for not striving to achieve "the closest organisational unity of the various national sections of the International" in the event of a social revolution.

Under socialism, P. Kievsky writes, self-determination becomes superfluous, since the state itself ceases to exist. That is meant as an argument against us! But in our theses we clearly and definitely say, in *three* lines, the last three lines of section one, that "democracy, too, is a form of state which must disappear when the state disappears". It is precisely this truism that P. Kievsky repeats—to "refute" us, of course!—on *several pages* of his § r (Chapter I), and repeats it in a *distorted way*. "We picture to ourselves," he writes, "and have always pictured the socialist system as a strictly democratic [!!?], centralised system of economy in which the state, as the apparatus for the domination of one part of the population over the other, disappears." This is confusion, because democracy *too* is domination "of one part of the population over the other"; it *too* is a form of state. Our author obviously does not understand what is meant by the *withering away* of the state after the victory of socialism and what this process requires.

The main point, however, is his "objections" regarding the era of the social revolution. He calls us "talmudists of self-determination"—what a frightening epithet—and adds: "We picture this process [the social revolution] as the united action of the proletarians of all [!] countries, who wipe out the frontiers of the bourgeois [!] state, who tear down the frontier posts [in addition to "wiping out the frontiers"?], who blow up [!] national unity and establish class unity."

The wrath of this stern judge of the "talmudists" notwithstanding, we must say: there are many words here, but no "ideas".

The social revolution cannot be the united action of the proletarians of *all* countries for the simple reason that most of the countries and the majority of the world's population

have not even reached, or have only just reached, the capitalist stage of development. We stated this in section six of our theses, but P. Kievsky, because of lack of attention, or inability to think, did "not notice" that we included this section for a definite purpose, namely, to refute caricature distortions of Marxism. *Only* the advanced countries of Western Europe and North America have matured for socialism, and in Engels's letter to Kautsky (*Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*)[29] Kievsky will find a concrete illustration of the real and not merely promised "*idea*" that to dream of the "united action of the proletarians of *all* countries" means postponing socialism to the Greek calends, i.e., for ever.

Socialism will be achieved by the united action of the proletarians, not of all, but of a minority of countries, those that have reached the *advanced* capitalist stage of development. The cause of Kievsky's error lies in failure to understand that. In *these* advanced countries (England, France, Germany, etc.) the national problem was solved long ago; national unity outlived its purpose long ago; *objectively*, there are no "general national tasks" to be accomplished. Hence, only in these countries is it possible *now* to "blow up" national unity and establish class unity.

The *un*developed countries are a different matter. They embrace the whole of Eastern Europe and all the colonies and semi-colonies and are dealt with in section six of the theses (second- and third-type countries). In those areas, as a rule, there *still* exist oppressed and capitalistically undeveloped nations. *Objectively*, these nations still have general national tasks to accomplish, namely, *democratic* tasks, the tasks of *overthrowing foreign oppression*.

Engels cited India as an example of such nations, stating that she might perform a revolution against victorious socialism, for Engels was remote from the preposterous imperialist Economism which imagines that having achieved victory in the advanced countries, the proletariat will "automatically", without definite *democratic* measures, abolish national oppression everywhere. The victorious proletariat will reorganise the countries in which it has triumphed. That cannot be done all at once; nor, indeed, can the bourgeoisie be "vanquished" all at once. We deliberately emphasised this in our theses, and Kievsky has again failed to

stop and think *why* we stressed this point in connection with the national question.

While the proletariat of the advanced countries is overthrowing the bourgeoisie and repelling its attempts at counter-revolution, the undeveloped and oppressed nations do not just wait, do not cease to exist, do not disappear. If they take advantage even of such a bourgeois imperialist crisis as the war of 1915-16—a minor crisis compared with social revolution—to rise in revolt (the colonies, Ireland), there can be no doubt that they will all the more readily take advantage of the *great crisis* of civil war in the advanced countries to rise in revolt.

The social revolution can come only in the form of an epoch in which are combined civil war by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries and a *whole series* of democratic and revolutionary movements, including the national liberation movement, in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations.

Why? Because capitalism develops unevenly, and objective reality gives us highly developed capitalist nations side by side with a number of economically slightly developed, or totally undeveloped, nations. P. Kievsky has absolutely failed to analyse the *objective* conditions of social revolution from the standpoint of the economic maturity of various countries. His reproach that *we* "invent" instances in which to apply self-determination is therefore an attempt to lay the blame at the wrong door.

With a zeal worthy of a better cause, Kievsky repeatedly quotes Marx and Engels to the effect that "one must not invent things out of his own head, but use his head to discover in the existing material conditions" the means that will free humanity of social evils. When I read those oft-repeated quotations I cannot help recalling the late and unlamented Economists who just as tediously ... harped on their "new discovery" that capitalism had triumphed in Russia. Kievsky wants to "smite" us with these quotations: he claims that we invent out of our own heads the conditions for applying self-determination in the epoch of imperialism! But we find the following "incautious admission" in his own article:

"The very fact that we are *opposed* [author's italics] to defence of the fatherland shows most clearly that we will

actively resist suppression of a national uprising, for we shall thereby be combating imperialism, our mortal enemy" (Chapter II, §r).

To criticise an author, to *answer* him, one has to quote in full at least the main propositions of his article. But in all of Kievsky's propositions you will find that every sentence contains two or three errors or illogicalities that distort Marxism!

1) He is unaware that a national uprising is *also* "defence of the fatherland"! A little thought, however, will make it perfectly clear that this is so, since *every* "nation in revolt" "defends" itself, its language, its territory, its fatherland, against the oppressor nation.

All national oppression calls forth the resistance of the *broad masses* of the people; and the resistance of a nationally oppressed population always *tends* to national revolt. Not infrequently (notably in Austria and Russia) we find the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations *talking* of national revolt, while in practice it enters into reactionary compacts with the bourgeoisie of the oppressor nation behind the backs of, *and against*, its own people. In such cases the criticism of revolutionary Marxists should be directed not against the national movement, but against its degradation, vulgarisation, against the tendency to reduce it to a petty squabble. Incidentally, very many Austrian and Russian Social-Democrats overlook this and in their *legitimate* hatred of the petty, vulgar and sordid national squabbles—disputes and scuffles over the question, for instance, of which language shall have precedence in two-language street signs—refuse to support the national struggle. We shall not "support" a republican farce in, say, the principality of Monaco, or the "republican" adventurism of "generals" in the small states of South America or some Pacific island. But that does not mean it would be permissible to abandon the republican slogan for serious democratic and socialist movements. We should, and do, ridicule the sordid national squabbles and haggling in Russia and Austria. But that does not mean that it would be permissible to deny support to a national uprising or a serious popular struggle against national oppression.

2) If national uprisings are impossible in the "imperialist era", Kievsky has no right to speak of them. If they are pos-

sible, *all* his fine-spun talk about "monism" and our "inventing" examples of self-determination under imperialism, etc., etc., falls to pieces. Kievsky defeats his own arguments.

If "we" "actively resist suppression" of a "national uprising"—a case which P. Kievsky "*himself*" considers possible —what does this mean?

It means that the *action* is twofold, or "dualistic", to employ the philosophical term as incorrectly as our author does: (a) first, it is the "action" of the nationally oppressed proletariat and peasantry *jointly* with the nationally oppressed bourgeoisie *against* the oppressor nation; (b) second, it is the "action" of the proletariat, or of its class-conscious section, in the oppressor nation *against* the bourgeoisie of that nation and all the elements that follow it.

The innumerable phrases against a "national bloc", national "illusions", the "poison" of nationalism, against "fanning national hatred" and the like, to which P. Kievsky resorts, prove to be meaningless. For when he advises the proletariat of the oppressor countries (which, be it remembered, he regards as a serious force) "actively to resist suppression of a national uprising", he thereby *fans* national hatred and *supports* the establishment of a "bloc with the bourgeoisie" by the workers of the oppressed nations.

3) If national uprisings are possible under imperialism, so are national wars. There is no material political difference between the two. Military historians are perfectly right when they put rebellions in the same category as wars. Kievsky has unwittingly refuted not only himself, but also Junius[30] and the *Internationale* group, who deny the *possibility* of national wars under imperialism. And this denial is the only conceivable theoretical ground for denying self-determination of nations under imperialism.

4) For what is a "national" uprising? It is an uprising aimed at the achievement of *political* independence of the oppressed nation, i.e., the establishment of a *separate* national state.

If the proletariat of the oppressor nation is a serious force (in the imperialist era, as our author rightly assumes), does not its determination "actively to resist suppression of a national uprising" *imply assistance* in creating a separate national state? Of course it does.

Though he denies the "achievability" of self-determination, our brave author now argues that the class-conscious proletariat of the advanced countries must *assist* in achieving this "unachievable" goal!

5) *Why* must "we" "actively resist" suppression of a national uprising? P. Kievsky advances only one reason: "...we shall thereby be combating imperialism, our mortal enemy." All the *strength* of the argument lies in the *strong* word "mortal". And this is in keeping with his penchant for strong words instead of strong arguments—high-sounding phrases like "driving a stake into the quivering body of the bourgeoisie" and similar Alexinsky flourishes.

But this Kievsky argument is *wrong*. Imperialism is as much our "mortal" enemy as is capitalism. That is so. No Marxist will forget, however, that capitalism is progressive compared with feudalism, and that imperialism is progressive compared with pre-monopoly capitalism. Hence, it is *not* every struggle against imperialism that we should support. We will *not* support a struggle of the reactionary classes against imperialism; we will *not* support an uprising of the reactionary classes against imperialism and capitalism.

Consequently, once the author admits the need to support an uprising of an oppressed nation ("actively resisting" suppression means supporting the uprising), he also admits that a national uprising is *progressive*, that the establishment of a separate and new state, of new frontiers, etc., resulting from a successful uprising, is *progressive*.

In *none* of his political arguments is the author consistent!

The Irish Rebellion of 1916, which took place after our theses had appeared in No. 2 of *Vorbote*, proved, incidentally, that it was not idle to speak of the possibility of national uprisings even in Europe.

6. THE OTHER POLITICAL ISSUE RAISED AND DISTORTED BY P. KIEVSKY

Liberation of the colonies, we stated in our theses, means self-determination of nations. Europeans often forget that colonial peoples *too* are nations, but to tolerate this "forgetfulness" is to tolerate chauvinism.

P. Kievsky "objects":

In the pure type of colonies, "there is *no* proletariat in the proper sense of the term" (end of § r, Chapter II). "For whom, then, is the 'self-determination' slogan meant? For the colonial bourgeoisie? For the fellahs? For the peasants? Certainly not. It is absurd for *socialists* [Kievsky's italics] to demand self-determination for the colonies, for it is absurd in general to advance the slogans of a workers' party for countries where there are no workers."

P. Kievsky's anger and his denunciation of our view as "absurd" notwithstanding, we make bold to submit that his arguments are erroneous. Only the late and unlamented Economists believed that the "slogans of a workers' party" are issued *only* for workers.* No, these slogans are issued for the whole of the labouring population, for the entire people. The democratic part of our programme—Kievsky has given no thought to its significance "in general"—is addressed specifically to the whole people and that is why in it we speak of the "people".**

The colonial and semi-colonial nations, we said, account for 1,000 million people, and P. Kievsky has not taken the trouble to refute that concrete statement. Of these 1,000 million, more that 700 million (China, India, Persia, Egypt) live in countries where *there are* workers. But even with regard to colonial countries where there are no workers, only slave-owners and slaves, etc., the demand for "self-determination", far from being *absurd*, is *obligatory* for every Marxist. And if he gave the matter a little thought, Kievsky would probably realise this, and also that "self-determination" is always advanced "for" *two* nations: the oppressed and the *oppressing*.

Another of Kievsky's "objections":

"For that reason we limit ourselves, in respect to the colonies, to a negative slogan, i.e., to the demand socialists

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* P. Kievsky would do well to reread what A. Martynov and Co. wrote in 1899-1901. He would find many of his "own" arguments there.

** Some curious opponents of "self-determination of nations" try to refute our views with the argument that "nations" are divided into classes! Our customary reply to these caricature Marxists is that the democratic part of our programme speaks of "government by the people".

present to their governments—'get out of the colonies!' Unachievable within the framework of capitalism, this demand serves to intensify the struggle against imperialism, but does not contradict the trend of development, for a socialist society will not possess colonies."

The author's inability, or reluctance, to give the slightest thought to the theoretical contents of political slogans is simply amazing! Are we to believe that the use of a propaganda phrase instead of a theoretically precise political term alters matters? To say "get out of the colonies" is to evade a theoretical analysis and hide behind propaganda phrases! For every one of our Party propagandists, in referring to the Ukraine, Poland, Finland, etc., is fully entitled to demand of the tsarist government (his "own government"): "get out of Finland", etc. However, the intelligent propagandist will understand that we must not advance either positive or negative slogans for the sole purpose of "intensifying" the struggle. Only men of the Alexinsky type could insist that the "negative" slogan "get out of the Black-Hundred Duma" was justified by the desire to "intensify" the struggle against a certain evil.

Intensification of the struggle is an empty phrase of the subjectivists, who forget the Marxist requirement that every slogan be justified by a precise analysis of *economic* realities, the *political* situation and the *political* significance of the slogan. It is embarrassing to have to drive this home, but what can one do?

We know the Alexinsky habit of cutting short a theoretical discussion of a theoretical question by propaganda outcries. It is a bad habit. The slogan "get out of the colonies" has one and only one political and economic content: freedom of secession for the colonial nations, freedom to establish a separate state! If, as P. Kievsky believes, the *general* laws of imperialism prevent the self-determination of nations and make it a utopia, illusion, etc., then how can one, without stopping to think, make an exception from these general laws for *most* of the nations of the world? Obviously, P. Kievsky's "theory" is a caricature of theory.

Commodity production and capitalism, and the connecting threads of finance capital, exist in the vast majority of colonial countries. How, then, can we urge the imperialist

countries, their governments, to "get out of the colonies" if, *from the standpoint* of commodity production, capitalism and imperialism, this is an "unscientific" and "utopian" demand, "refuted" *even* by Lensch, Cunow and the rest?

There is not even a shadow of *thought* in the author's argumentation!

He has given no thought to the fact that liberation of the colonies is "unrealisable" *only* in the sense of being "unrealisable without a series of revolutions". He has given no thought to the fact that it is realisable *in conjunction* with a socialist revolution in Europe. He has given no thought to the fact that a "socialist society will not possess" *not only* colonies, but subject nations *in general*. He has given no thought to the fact that, on the question under discussion, there is *no* economic or political difference between Russia's "possession" of Poland or Turkestan. He has given no thought to the fact that a "socialist society" will wish to "get out of the colonies" *only* in the sense of granting them the free *right* to secede, but definitely *not* in the sense of *recommending secession*.

And for this differentiation between the right to secede and the recommendation to secede, P. Kievsky condemns us as "jugglers", and to "scientifically substantiate" that verdict in the eyes of the workers, he writes:

"What is a worker to think when he asks a propagandist how the proletariat should regard *samostiinost* [political independence for the Ukraine], and gets this answer: socialists are working for the right to secede, but their propaganda is against secession?"

I believe I can give a fairly accurate reply to that question, namely: every sensible worker will *think* that Kievsky is *not capable of thinking*.

Every sensible worker will "think": here we have P. Kievsky telling us workers to shout "get out of the colonies". In other words, we Great-Russian workers must demand from our government that it get out of Mongolia, Turkestan, Persia; English workers must demand that the English Government get out of Egypt, India, Persia, etc. But does this mean that *we* proletarians *wish* to separate ourselves from the Egyptian workers and fellahs, from the Mongolian, Turkestan or Indian workers and peasants? Does it

mean that *we* advise the labouring masses of the colonies to "separate" from the class-conscious European proletariat? Nothing of the kind. Now, as always, we stand and shall continue to stand for the closest association and merging of the class-conscious workers of the advanced countries with the workers, peasants and slaves of *all* the oppressed countries. We have always advised and shall continue to advise all the oppressed classes in all the oppressed countries, the colonies included, *not* to separate from us, but to form the closest possible ties and merge with us.

We demand from our governments that they quit the colonies, or, to put it in precise political terms rather than in agitational outcries—that they *grant* the colonies full *freedom* of secession, the genuine *right to self-determination*, and we ourselves are sure to implement this right, and grant this freedom, as soon as we capture power. We demand this from existing governments, and will *do* this when we are the government, *not* in order to "recommend" secession, but, on the contrary, in order to facilitate and accelerate the *democratic* association and merging of nations. We shall exert every effort to foster association and merger with the Mongolians, Persians, Indians, Egyptians. We believe it is our duty and *in our interest* to do this, for otherwise socialism in Europe will *not be secure*. We shall endeavour to render these nations, more backward and oppressed than we are, "disinterested cultural assistance", to borrow the happy expression of the Polish Social-Democrats. In other words, we will help them pass to the use of machinery, to the lightening of labour, to democracy, to socialism.

If we demand freedom of secession for the Mongolians, Persians, Egyptians and *all* other oppressed and unequal nations without exception, we do so not because *we favour secession*, but *only* because we stand for *free*, *voluntary* association and merging as distinct from forcible association. That is the *only* reason!

And in this respect the *only* difference between the Mongolian or Egyptian peasants and workers and their Polish or Finnish counterparts is, in our view, that the latter are more developed, more experienced politically than the Great Russians, more economically prepared, etc., and for that reason will in all likelihood *very soon* convince their

peoples that it is unwise to extend their present legitimate hatred of the Great Russians, for their role of hangman, to the *socialist* workers and to a socialist Russia. They will convince them that economic expediency and internationalist and democratic instinct and consciousness demand the earliest association of all nations and their merging in a socialist society. And since the Poles and Finns are highly cultured people, they will, in all probability, very soon come to see the correctness ; of this attitude, and the possible secession of Poland and Finland after the triumph of socialism will therefore be only of short duration. The incomparably less cultured fellahs, Mongolians and Persians might secede for a longer period, but we shall try to shorten it by disinterested cultural assistance as indicated above.

There is *no* other difference in our attitude to the Poles and Mongolians, nor can there be. There is *no* "contradiction", nor can there be, between our propaganda of freedom of secession and our firm resolve to implement that freedom when *we* are the government, and our propaganda of association and merging of nations. That is what, we feel sure, every sensible worker, every genuine socialist and internationalist will "think" of our controversy with P. Kievsky.*

Running through the article is Kievsky's basic doubt: why advocate and, when we are in power, implement the freedom of nations to *secede*, considering that the trend of

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* Evidently Kievsky simply *repeated* the slogan "get out of the colonies", advanced by certain German and Dutch Marxists, without considering not only its theoretical content and implications, but also the specific features of Russia. It is pardonable—to a certain extent—for a Dutch or German Marxist to confine himself to the slogan "get out of the colonies". For, first, the *typical* form of national oppression, in the case of most *West*-European countries, is oppression of the colonies, and, second, the very term "colony" has an especially clear, graphic and vital meaning for West-European countries.

But what of Russia ? Its peculiarity lies precisely in the fact that the difference between "*our*" "colonies" and "our" oppressed nations is not clear, not concrete and not vitally felt!

For a Marxist writing in, say, German it might be pardonable to overlook *this* peculiarity of Russia; for Kievsky it is unpardonable. The sheer absurdity of trying to discover some serious difference between oppressed nations and colonies in the case of Russia should be especially clear to a Russian socialist who wants not simply to *repeat*, but to *think*.

development is towards the *merging* of nations? For the same reason—we reply—that we advocate and, when in power, will implement the dictatorship of the proletariat, though the entire trend of development is towards abolition of coercive domination of one part of society over another. Dictatorship is domination of one part of society over the rest of society, and domination, moreover, that rests directly on coercion. Dictatorship of the proletariat, the only consistently revolutionary class, is necessary to overthrow the bourgeoisie and repel its attempts at counter-revolution. The question of proletarian dictatorship is of such overriding importance that he who denies the need for such dictatorship, or recognises it only in words, cannot be a member of the Social-Democratic Party. However, it cannot be denied that in individual cases, by way of exception, for instance, in some small country after the social revolution has been accomplished in a neighbouring big country, peaceful surrender of power by the bourgeoisie is *possible*, if it is convinced that resistance is hopeless and if it prefers to save its skin. It is much more likely, of course, that even in small states socialism will *not* be achieved without civil war, and for that reason the *only* programme of international Social-Democracy must be recognition of civil war, though violence is, of course, alien to our ideals. The same, *mutatis mutandis* (with the *necessary* alterations), is applicable to nations. We favour their merger, but *now* there can be no transition from forcible merger and annexation to voluntary merger without freedom of secession. We recognise—and quite rightly—the predominance of the economic factor, but to interpret it *à la* Kievsky is to make a caricature of Marxism. Even the trusts and banks of modern imperialism, though inevitable everywhere as part of developed capitalism, differ in their concrete aspects from country to country. There is a still greater difference, despite homogeneity in essentials, between political forms in the advanced imperialist countries—America, England, France, Germany. The same variety will manifest itself also in the path mankind will follow from the imperialism of today to the socialist revolution of tomorrow. All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of

democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life. There is nothing more primitive from the viewpoint of theory, or more ridiculous from that of practice, than to paint, "in the name of historical materialism", *this* aspect of the future in a monotonous grey. The result will be nothing more than Suzdal daubing. And even if reality were to show that *prior* to the first victory of the socialist proletariat only 1/500 of the nations now oppressed will win emancipation and secede, that *prior* to the final victory of the socialist proletariat the world over (i.e., during all the vicissitudes of the socialist revolution) also only 1/500 of the oppressed nations will secede for a very short time—*even* in that event we would be correct, both from the theoretical and practical political standpoint, in advising the workers, already now, not to permit into their Social-Democratic parties those socialists of the oppressor nations who do not recognise and do not advocate freedom of secession for *all* oppressed nations. For the fact is that we do not know, and cannot know, how many of the oppressed nations will in practice require secession in order to contribute something of their own to the different *forms* of democracy, the different *forms* of transition to socialism. And that the negation of freedom of secession now is theoretically false from beginning to end and in practice amounts to servility to the chauvinists of the oppressing nations—this we know, see and feel daily.

"We emphasise," P. Kievsky writes in a footnote to the passage quoted above, "that we fully support the demand 'against forcible annexation'...."

But he makes no reply, not even by a single word, to our perfectly clear statement that this "demand" is tantamount to recognising self-determination, that there can be no correct definition of the concept "annexation" unless it is seen in context with self-determination. Presumably Kievsky believes that in a discussion it is enough to present one's arguments and demands without any supporting evidence!

He continues: "...We fully accept, in their *negative* formulation, a number of demands that tend to sharpen proletarian consciousness against imperialism, but there is absolutely no possibility of working out corresponding *positive*

formulations on the basis of the existing system. Against war, yes, but not for a democratic peace....”

Wrong— from the first word to the last. Kievsky has read our resolution on “Pacifism and the Peace Slogan” (in the pamphlet *Socialism and War*, pp. 44-45*) and even approved it, I believe. But obviously he did not understand it. We are *for* a democratic peace, only we warn the workers against the deception that such a peace is possible under the present, bourgeois governments “without a series of revolutions”, as the resolution points out. We denounced as a deception of the workers the “abstract” advocacy of peace, i.e., one that does *not* take into account the real class nature, or, specifically, the imperialist nature of the *present* governments in the belligerent countries. We definitely stated in the *Sotsial-Demokrat* (No. 47) theses that if the revolution places our Party in power during the present war, it will immediately propose a democratic peace to all the warring countries.**

Yet, anxious to convince himself and others that he is opposed “only” to self-determination and not to democracy in general, Kievsky ends up by asserting that we are “not for a democratic peace”. Curious logic!

There is no need to dwell on all the other examples he cites, and no sense in wasting space on refuting them, for they are on the same level of naïve and fallacious logic and can only make the reader smile. There is not, nor can there be, such a thing as a “negative” Social-Democratic slogan that serves only to “sharpen proletarian consciousness against imperialism” without at the same time offering a positive answer to the question of *how* Social-Democracy will solve the problem when it assumes power. A “negative” slogan unconnected with a definite positive solution will not “sharpen”, but dull consciousness, for such a slogan is a hollow phrase, mere shouting, meaningless declamation.

P. Kievsky does not understand the difference between “negative” slogans that stigmatise *political* evils and *economic* evils. The difference lies in the fact that certain economic evils are part of capitalism as such, whatever the political

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* See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 162-63.—*Ed.*
** Ibid., pp. 403-04.—*Ed.*

superstructure, and that it is *impossible* to eliminate them economically without eliminating capitalism itself. Not a single instance can be cited to disprove this. On the other hand, political evils represent a departure from democracy which, economically, is fully possible "on the basis of the existing system", i.e., capitalism, and by way of exception is being implemented under capitalism—certain aspects in one country, other aspects in another. Again, what the author fails to understand is precisely the fundamental conditions necessary for the implementation of democracy in general!

The same applies to the question of divorce. The reader will recall that it was first posed by Rosa Luxemburg in the discussion on the *national* question. She expressed the perfectly justified opinion that if we uphold autonomy within a state (for a definite region, area, etc.), we must, as centralist Social-Democrats, insist that all major national issues —and *divorce* legislation is one of them—should come within the jurisdiction of the central government and central parliament. This example clearly demonstrates that one cannot be a democrat and socialist without demanding full freedom of divorce now, because the lack of such freedom is additional oppression of the oppressed sex—though it should not be difficult to realise that recognition of the *freedom* to leave one's husband is not an *invitation* to all wives to do so!

P. Kievsky "objects":

"What would this right [of divorce] be like if in *such* cases [when the wife *wants* to leave the husband] she could *not* exercise her right? Or if its exercise depended on the will of *third* parties, or, worse still, on the will of claimants to her affections? Would we advocate the proclamation of *such* a right? Of course not!"

That objection reveals complete failure to understand the relation between democracy *in general* and capitalism. The conditions that make it impossible for the oppressed classes to "exercise" their democratic rights are not the exception under capitalism; they are typical of the system. In most cases the right of divorce will remain unrealisable under capitalism, for the oppressed sex is subjugated economically. No matter how much democracy there is under capitalism, the woman remains a "domestic slave", a slave locked up in the bedroom, nursery, kitchen. The right to

elect their "own" people's judges, officials, school-teachers, jurymen, etc., is likewise in most cases unrealisable under capitalism precisely because of the economic subjection of the workers and peasants. The same applies to the democratic republic: our programme defines it as "government by the people", though all Social-Democrats know perfectly well that under capitalism, even in the most democratic republic, there is bound to be bribery of officials by the bourgeoisie and an alliance of stock exchange and the government.

Only those who cannot think straight or have no knowledge of Marxism will conclude: so there is no point in having a republic, no point in freedom of divorce, no point in democracy, no point in self-determination of nations! But Marxists know that democracy does *not* abolish class oppression. It only makes the class struggle more direct, wider, more open and pronounced, and that is what we need. The fuller the freedom of divorce, the clearer will women see that the source of their "domestic slavery" is capitalism, not lack of rights. The more democratic the system of government, the clearer will the workers see that the root evil is capitalism, not lack of rights. The fuller national equality (and it is *not* complete without freedom of secession), the clearer will the workers of the oppressed nations see that the cause of their oppression is capitalism, not lack of rights, etc.

It must be said again and again: It is embarrassing to have to drive home the ABC of Marxism, but what is one to do if Kievsky does not know it?

He discusses divorce in much the same way as one of the secretaries of the Organising Committee abroad, Semkovsky, discussed it, if I remember rightly, in the Paris *Golos*.[31] His line of reasoning was that freedom of divorce is not, it is true, an invitation to all wives to leave their husbands, but if it is proved that all other husbands are better than yours, madame, then it amounts to one and the same thing!!

In taking that line of argument Semkovsky forgot that crank thinking is not a violation of socialist or democratic principles. If Semkovsky were to tell a woman that all other husbands were better than hers, no one would regard this as violation of democratic principles. At most people would

say: There are bound to be big cranks in a big party! But if Semkovsky were to take it into his head to defend as a democrat a person who opposed freedom of divorce and appealed to the courts, the police or the church to prevent his wife leaving him, we feel sure that *even* most of Semkovsky's colleagues on the Secretariat Abroad, though they are sorry socialists, would refuse to support him!

Both Semkovsky and Kievsky, in their "discussion" of divorce, fail to understand the issue and avoid its substance, namely, that under capitalism the right of divorce, as *all* other democratic rights without exception, is conditional, restricted, formal, narrow and extremely difficult of realisation. Yet no self-respecting Social-Democrat will consider anyone opposing the right of divorce a democrat, let alone a socialist. That is the crux of the matter. *All* "democracy" consists in the proclamation and realisation of "rights" which under capitalism are realisable only to a very small degree and only relatively. But without the proclamation of these rights, without a struggle to introduce them now, immediately, without training the masses in the spirit of this struggle, socialism is *impossible*.

Having failed to understand that, Kievsky bypasses the central question, that belongs to his special subject, namely, *how* will we Social-Democrats abolish national oppression? He shunts the question aside with phrases about the world being "drenched in blood", etc. (though this has no bearing on the matter under discussion). This leaves only one single argument: the socialist revolution will solve everything. Or, the argument sometimes advanced by people who share his views: self-determination is impossible under capitalism and superfluous under socialism.

From the theoretical standpoint that view is nonsensical; from the practical political standpoint it is chauvinistic. It fails to appreciate the significance of democracy. For socialism is impossible without democracy because: (1) the proletariat cannot perform the socialist revolution unless it prepares for it by the struggle for democracy; (2) victorious socialism cannot consolidate its victory and bring humanity to the withering away of the state without implementing full democracy. To claim that self-determination is superfluous under socialism is therefore just as nonsensical

and just as hopelessly confusing as to claim that democracy is superfluous under socialism.

Self-determination is *no more* impossible under capitalism, and *just* as superfluous under socialism, as democracy generally.

The economic revolution will create the necessary prerequisites for eliminating *all* types of political oppression. Precisely for that reason it is illogical and incorrect to reduce everything to the economic revolution, for the question is: *how* to eliminate national oppression? It cannot be eliminated without an economic revolution. That is incontestable. But to *limit* ourselves to this is to lapse into absurd and wretched imperialist Economism.

We must carry out national *equality*; proclaim, formulate and implement equal "rights" for all nations. *Everyone* agrees with that save, perhaps, P. Kievsky. But this poses a question which Kievsky avoids: is not negation of the *right* to form a national state negation of equality?

Of course it is. And consistent, i.e., socialist, democrats, proclaim, formulate and will implement this right, without which there is no path to complete, voluntary rapprochement and merging of nations.

7. CONCLUSION. ALEXINSKY METHODS

We have analysed only a fraction of P. Kievsky's arguments. To analyse *all* of them would require an article five times the length of this one, for there is not a single correct view in the whole of what Kievsky has to say. What is *correct*—if there are no mistakes in the figures—is the footnote data on banks. All the rest is an impossible tangle of confusion peppered with phrases like "driving a stake into the quivering body", "we shall not only judge the conquering heroes, but condemn them to death and elimination", "the new world will be born in agonising convulsions", "the question will not be one of granting charters and rights, nor of proclaiming the freedom of the nations, but of establishing genuinely free relationships, destroying age-old slavery and social oppression in general, and national oppression in particular", and so on and so forth.

These phrases are, at one and the same time, the cover and expression of two things: first, their underlying "idea" is *imperialist Economism*, which is just as ugly a caricature of Marxism, and just as complete a misinterpretation of the relationship between socialism and democracy, as was the late and unlamented Economism of 1894-1902.

Second, we have in these phrases a repetition of Alexinsky methods. This should be especially emphasised, for a whole section of Kievsky's article (Chapter II, § f, "The Special Position of the Jews") is based *exclusively* on these methods.

At the 1907 London Congress the Bolsheviks would dissociate themselves from Alexinsky when, in reply to theoretical arguments, he would pose as an agitator and resort to high-falutin, but entirely irrelevant, phrases against one or another type of exploitation and oppression. "He's begun his shouting again," our delegates would say. And the "shouting" did not do Alexinsky any good.

There is the same kind of "shouting" in Kievsky's article. He has no reply to the theoretical questions and arguments expounded in the theses. Instead, he poses as an agitator and begins shouting about the oppression of the Jews, though every thinking person will realise that his shouting, and the Jewish question in general, have no relation whatever to the subject under discussion.

Alexinsky methods can lead to no good.

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THE MILITARY PROGRAMME OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION[32]

Among the Dutch, Scandinavian and Swiss revolutionary Social-Democrats who are combating the social-chauvinist lies about "defence of the fatherland" in the present imperialist war, there have been voices in favour of replacing the old Social-Democratic minimum-programme demand for a "militia", or "the armed nation", by a new demand: "disarmament". The *Jugend-Internationale*[33] has inaugurated a discussion on this issue and published, in No. 3, an editorial supporting disarmament. There is also, we regret to note, a concession to the "disarmament" idea in R. Grimm's latest theses.[34] Discussions have been started in the periodicals *Neues Leben*[35] and *Vorbote*.

Let us take a closer look at the position of the disarmament advocates.

I

Their principal argument is that the disarmament demand is the clearest, most decisive, most consistent expression of the struggle against all militarism and against all war.

But in this principal argument lies the disarmament advocates' principal error. Socialists cannot, without ceasing to be socialists, be opposed to all war.

Firstly, socialists have never been, nor can they ever be, opposed to revolutionary wars. The bourgeoisie of the imperialist "Great" Powers has become thoroughly reactionary, and the war *this* bourgeoisie is now waging we regard as a reactionary, slave-owners' and criminal war. But what about a war *against* this bourgeoisie? A war, for instance, waged by peoples oppressed by and dependent upon this

bourgeoisie, or by colonial peoples, for liberation. In §5 of the *Internationale* group theses we read: "National wars are no longer possible in the era of this unbridled imperialism." That is obviously wrong.

The history of the twentieth century, this century of "unbridled imperialism", is replete with colonial wars. But what we Europeans, the imperialist oppressors of the majority of the world's peoples, with our habitual, despicable European chauvinism, call "colonial wars" are often national wars, or national rebellions of these oppressed peoples. One of the main features of imperialism is that it accelerates capitalist development in the most backward countries, and thereby extends and intensifies the struggle against national oppression. That is a fact, and from it inevitably follows that imperialism must often give rise to national wars. *Junius*, who defends the above-quoted "theses" in her pamphlet, says that in the imperialist era every national war against an imperialist Great Power leads to the intervention of a rival imperialist Great Power. Every national war is thus turned into an imperialist war. But that argument is wrong too. This *can* happen, but does not always happen. Many colonial wars between 1900 and 1914 did not follow that course. And it would be simply ridiculous to declare, for instance, that after the present war, if it ends in the utter exhaustion of all the belligerents, "there can be no" national, progressive, revolutionary wars "of any kind", waged, say, by China in alliance with India, Persia, Siam, etc., against the Great Powers.

To deny all possibility of national wars under imperialism is wrong in theory, obviously mistaken historically, and tantamount to European chauvinism in practice: we who belong to nations that oppress hundreds of millions in Europe, Africa, Asia, etc., are invited to tell the oppressed peoples that it is "impossible" for them to wage war against "our" nations!

Secondly, civil war is just as much a war as any other. He who accepts the class struggle cannot fail to accept civil wars, which in every class society are the natural, and under certain conditions inevitable, continuation, development and intensification of the class struggle. That has been confirmed by every great revolution. To repudiate

civil war, or to forget about it, is to fall into extreme opportunism and renounce the socialist revolution.

Thirdly, the victory of socialism in one country does not at one stroke eliminate all war in general. On the contrary, it presupposes wars. The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in different countries. It cannot be otherwise under commodity production. From this it follows irrefutably that socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously *in all* countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois. This is bound to create not only friction, but a direct attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the socialist state's victorious proletariat. In such cases a war on our part would be a legitimate and just war. It would be a war for socialism, for the liberation of other nations from the bourgeoisie. Engels was perfectly right when, in his letter to Kautsky of September 12, 1882, he clearly stated that it was possible for *already victorious* socialism to wage "defensive wars". What he had in mind was defence of the victorious proletariat against the bourgeoisie of other countries.

Only after we have overthrown, finally vanquished and expropriated the bourgeoisie of the whole world, and not merely of one country, will wars become impossible. And from a scientific point of view it would be utterly wrong—and utterly unrevolutionary—for us to evade or gloss over the most important thing: crushing the resistance of the bourgeoisie—the most difficult task, and one demanding the greatest amount of fighting in the *transition* to socialism. The "social" parsons and opportunists are always ready to build dreams of future peaceful socialism. But the very thing that distinguishes them from revolutionary Social-Democrats is that they refuse to think about and reflect on the fierce class struggle and class *wars* needed to achieve that beautiful future.

We must not allow ourselves to be led astray by words. The term "defence of the fatherland", for instance, is hateful to many because both avowed opportunists and Kautskyites use it to cover up and gloss over the bourgeois lie about the *present* predatory war. This is a fact. But it does not follow that we must no longer see through to the meaning

of political slogans. To accept "defence of the fatherland" in the present war is no more nor less than to accept it as a "just" war, a war in the interests of the proletariat—no more nor less, we repeat, because invasions may occur in any war. It would be sheer folly to repudiate "defence of the fatherland" *on the part* of oppressed nations in their wars *against* the imperialist Great Powers, or on the part of a victorious proletariat in *its* war against some Galliffet of a bourgeois state.

Theoretically, it would be absolutely wrong to forget that every war is but the continuation of policy by other means. The present imperialist war is the continuation of the imperialist policies of two groups of Great Powers, and those policies were engendered and fostered by the sum total of the relationships of the imperialist era. But this very era must also necessarily engender and foster policies of struggle against national oppression and of proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie and, consequently, also the possibility and inevitability, first, of revolutionary national rebellions and wars; second, of proletarian wars and rebellions *against* the bourgeoisie; and, third, of a combination of both kinds of revolutionary war, etc.

II

To this must be added the following general consideration.

An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot, unless we have become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, forget that we are living in a class society from which there is no way out, nor can there be, save through the class struggle. In every class society, whether based on slavery, serfdom, or, as at present, on wage-labour, the oppressor class is always armed. Not only the modern standing army, but even the modern militia—and even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, Switzerland, for instance—represent the bourgeoisie armed *against* the proletariat. That is such an elementary truth that it is hardly necessary to dwell upon it. Suffice it to point to the use of troops against strikers in all capitalist countries.

A bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat is one of the

biggest, fundamental and cardinal facts of modern capitalist society. And in face of this fact, revolutionary Social-Democrats are urged to "demand" "disarmament"! That is tantamount to complete abandonment of the class-struggle point of view, to renunciation of all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie. These are the only tactics possible for a revolutionary class, tactics that follow logically from, and are dictated by, the whole *objective development* of capitalist militarism. Only *after* the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historic mission, to consign all armaments to the scrap-heap. And the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but *only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before.*

If the present war rouses among the reactionary Christian socialists, among the whimpering petty bourgeoisie, *only* horror and fright, only aversion to all use of arms, to bloodshed, death, etc., then we must say: Capitalist society is and has always been *horror without end.* If this most reactionary of all wars is now preparing for that society an *end in horror*, we have no reason to fall into despair. But the disarmament "demand", or more correctly, the dream of disarmament, is, objectively, nothing but an expression of despair at a time when, as everyone can see, the bourgeoisie itself is paving the way for the only legitimate and revolutionary war—civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

A lifeless theory, some might say, but we would remind them of two world-historical facts: the role of the trusts and the employment of women in industry, on the one hand, and the Paris Commune of 1871 and the December 1905 uprising in Russia, on the other.

The bourgeoisie makes it its business to promote trusts, drive women and children into the factories, subject them to corruption and suffering, condemn them to extreme poverty. We do not "demand" such development, we do not "support" it. We fight it. But *how* do we fight? We explain that trusts and the employment of women in industry are progressive. We do not want a return to the handicraft system, pre-monopoly capitalism, domestic drudgery for women. Forward through the trusts, etc., and beyond them to socialism!

With the necessary changes that argument is applicable also to the present militarisation of the population. Today the imperialist bourgeoisie militarises the youth as well as the adults; tomorrow, it may begin militarising the women. Our attitude should be: All the better! Full speed ahead! For the faster we move, the nearer shall we be to the armed uprising against capitalism. How can Social-Democrats give way to fear of the militarisation of the youth, etc., if they have not forgotten the example of the Paris Commune? This is not a "lifeless theory" or a dream. It is a fact. And it would be a sorry state of affairs indeed if, all the economic and political facts notwithstanding, Social-Democrats began to doubt that the imperialist era and imperialist wars must inevitably bring about a repetition of such facts.

A certain bourgeois observer of the Paris Commune, writing to an English newspaper in May 1871, said: "If the French nation consisted entirely of women, what a terrible nation it would be!" Women and teen-age children fought in the Paris Commune side by side with the men. It will be no different in the coming battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian women will not look on passively as poorly armed or unarmed workers are shot down by the well-armed forces of the bourgeoisie. They will take to arms, as they did in 1871, and from the cowed nations of today—or more correctly, from the present-day labour movement, disorganised more by the opportunists than by the governments—there will undoubtedly arise, sooner or later, but with absolute certainty, an international league of the "terrible nations" of the revolutionary proletariat.

The whole of social life is now being militarised. Imperialism is a fierce struggle of the Great Powers for the division and redivision of the world. It is therefore bound to lead to further militarisation in all countries, even in neutral and small ones. How will proletarian women oppose this? Only by cursing all war and everything military, only by demanding disarmament? The women of an oppressed and really revolutionary class will never accept that shameful role. They will say to their sons: "You will soon be grown up. You will be given a gun. Take it and learn the military art properly. The proletarians need this knowledge not to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as is being done in the

present war, and as the traitors to socialism are telling you to do. They need it to fight the bourgeoisie of their own country, to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, and not by pious wishes, but by defeating and disarming the bourgeoisie."

If we are to shun such propaganda, precisely such propaganda, in connection with the present war, then we had better stop using fine words about international revolutionary Social-Democracy, the socialist revolution and war against war.

III

The disarmament advocates object to the ''armed nation" clause in the programme also because it more easily leads, they allege, to concessions to opportunism. The cardinal point, namely, the relation of disarmament to the class struggle and to the social revolution, we have examined above. We shall now examine the relation between the disarmament demand and opportunism. One of the chief reasons why it is unacceptable is precisely that, together with the illusions it creates, it inevitably weakens and devitalises our struggle against opportunism.

Undoubtedly, this struggle is the main, immediate question now confronting the International. Struggle against imperialism that is not closely linked with the struggle against opportunism is either an empty phrase or a fraud. One of the main defects of Zimmerwald and Kienthal[36]—one of the main reasons why these embryos of the Third International may possibly end in a fiasco—is that the question of fighting opportunism was not even raised openly, let alone solved in the sense of proclaiming the need to break with the opportunists. Opportunism has triumphed—temporarily—in the European labour movement. Its two main shades are apparent in all the big countries: first, the avowed, cynical, and therefore less dangerous social-imperialism of Messrs. Plekhanov, Scheidemann, Legien, Albert Thomas and Sembat, Vandervelde, Hyndman, Henderson, et al.; second, the concealed, Kautskyite opportunism: Kautsky-Haase and the Social-Democratic Labour Group in Germany[37]; Longuet, Pressemane, Mayéras, et al., in France; Ramsay MacDonald and the other leaders of the Independent Labour

Party in England; Martov, Chkheidze, et al., in Russia; Treves and the other so-called Left reformists in Italy.

Avowed opportunism is openly and directly opposed to revolution and to incipient revolutionary movements and outbursts. It is in direct alliance with the governments, varied as the forms of this alliance may be—from accepting ministerial posts to participation in the war industries committees (in Russia).[38] The masked opportunists, the Kautskyites, are much more harmful and dangerous to the labour movement, because they hide their advocacy of alliance with the former under a cloak of plausible, pseudo-"Marxist" catchwords and pacifist slogans. The fight against both these forms of prevailing opportunism must be conducted in *all* fields of proletarian politics: parliament, the trade unions, strikes, the armed forces, etc. The main distinguishing feature of *both* these forms of prevailing opportunism is that the concrete question of the *connection between the present war and revolution*, *and the other concrete questions of revolution*, are hushed up, concealed, or treated with an eye to police prohibitions. And this despite the fact that before the war the connection between *this* impending war and the proletarian revolution was emphasised innumerable times, both unofficially, and officially in the Basle Manifesto.[39] The main defect of the disarmament demand is its evasion of all the concrete questions of revolution. Or do the advocates of disarmament stand for an altogether new kind of revolution, unarmed revolution?

To proceed. We are by no means opposed to the fight for reforms. And we do not wish to ignore the sad possibility—if the worst comes to the worst—of mankind going through a second imperialist war, if revolution does not come out of the present war, in spite of the numerous outbursts of mass unrest and mass discontent and in spite of our efforts. We favour a programme of reforms directed *also* against the opportunists. They would be only too glad if we left the struggle for reforms entirely to them and sought escape from sad reality in a nebulous "disarmament" fantasy. "Disarmament" means simply running away from unpleasant reality, not fighting it.

In such a programme we would say something like this: "To accept the defence of the fatherland slogan in the 1914-16

imperialist war is to corrupt the labour movement with the aid of a bourgeois lie." Such a concrete reply to a concrete question would be more correct theoretically, much more useful to the proletariat and more unbearable to the opportunists, than the disarmament demand and repudiation of "all and any" defence of the fatherland. And we could add: "The bourgeoisie of all the imperialist Great Powers—England, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy, Japan, the United States—has become so reactionary and so intent on world domination, that *any* war waged by *the bourgeoisie of those* countries is bound to be reactionary. The proletariat must not only oppose all such wars, but must also wish for the defeat of its 'own' government in such wars and utilise its defeat for revolutionary insurrection, if an insurrection to prevent the war proves unsuccessful."

On the question of a militia, we should say: We are not in favour of a bourgeois militia; we are in favour only of a proletarian militia. Therefore, "not a penny, not a man", not only for a standing army, but even for a bourgeois militia, even in countries like the United States, or Switzerland, Norway, etc. The more so that in the freest republican countries (e.g., Switzerland) we see that the militia is being increasingly Prussianised, particularly in 1907 and 1911, and prostituted by being used against strikers. We can demand popular election of officers, abolition of all military law, equal rights for foreign and native-born workers (a point particularly important for those imperialist states which, like Switzerland, are more and more blatantly exploiting larger numbers of foreign workers, while denying them all rights). Further, we can demand the right of every hundred, say, inhabitants of a given country to form voluntary military-training associations, with free election of instructors paid by the state, etc. Only under these conditions could the proletariat acquire military training for *itself* and not for its slave-owners; and the need for such training is imperatively dictated by the interests of the proletariat. The Russian revolution showed that every success of the revolutionary movement, even a partial success like the seizure of a certain city, a certain factory town, or winning over a certain section of the army, inevitably *compels* the victorious proletariat to carry out just such a programme.

Lastly, it stands to reason that opportunism can never be defeated by mere programmes; it can only be defeated by deeds. The greatest, and fatal, error of the bankrupt Second International was that its words did not correspond to its deeds, that it cultivated the habit of hypocritical and unscrupulous revolutionary phrase-mongering (note the present attitude of Kautsky and Co. towards the Basle Manifesto). Disarmament as a social idea, i.e., an idea that springs from, and can affect, a certain social environment, and is not the invention of some crackpot, springs, evidently, from the peculiar "tranquil" conditions prevailing, by way of exception, in certain small states, which have for a fairly long time stood aside from the world's path of war and bloodshed, and hope to remain that way. To be convinced of this, we have only to consider the arguments advanced, for instance, by the Norwegian advocates of disarmament. "We are a small country," they say. "Our army is small; there is nothing we can do against the Great Powers [and, consequently, nothing we can do to resist forcible involvement in an imperialist *alliance* with one or the other Great-Power group].... We want to be left in peace in our backwoods and continue our backwoods politics, demand disarmament, compulsory arbitration, permanent neutrality, etc." ("permanent" after the Belgian fashion, no doubt?).

The petty striving of petty states to hold aloof, the petty-bourgeois desire to keep as far away as possible from the great battles of world history, to take advantage of one's relatively monopolistic position in order to remain in hidebound passivity—this is the *objective* social environment which may ensure the disarmament idea a certain degree of success and a certain degree of popularity in some of the small states. That striving is, of course, reactionary and is based entirely on illusions, for, in one way or another, imperialism draws the small states into the vortex of world economy and world politics.

In Switzerland, for instance, the imperialist environment objectively prescribes *two* courses to the labour movement: the opportunists, in alliance with the bourgeoisie, are seeking to turn the country into a republican-democratic monopolistic federation that would thrive on profits from imperialist bourgeois tourists, and to make this "tranquil"

monopolistic position as profitable and as tranquil as possible.

The genuine Swiss Social-Democrats are striving to use Switzerland's relative freedom and her "international" position to help the victory of the close alliance of the revolutionary elements in the European workers' parties. Switzerland, thank God, does not have "a separate language of her own", but uses three world languages, the three languages spoken in the adjacent belligerent countries.

If twenty thousand Swiss party members were to pay a weekly levy of two centimes as a sort of "extra war tax", we would have twenty thousand francs per annum, a sum more than sufficient periodically to publish in three languages and distribute among the workers and soldiers of the belligerent countries—in spite of the bans imposed by the general staffs—all the truthful evidence about the incipient revolt of the workers, their fraternising in the trenches, their hope that the weapons will be used for revolutionary struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie of their "own" countries, etc.

That is not new. It is being done by the best papers, like *La Sentinelle*, *Volksrecht* and the *Berner Tagwacht*,[40] although, unfortunately, on an inadequate scale. Only through such activity can the splendid decision of the Aarau Party Congress[41] become something more than merely a splendid decision.

The question that interests us now is: Does the disarmament demand correspond to this revolutionary trend among the Swiss Social-Democrats? It obviously does not. Objectively, disarmament is an extremely national, a specifically national programme of small states. It is certainly not the international programme of international revolutionary Social-Democracy.

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LOST IN A WOOD OF THREE TREES

The first issue of the Bund *Bulletin*[42] (September 1916) contains a letter from a St. Petersburg Bundist dated February 26, 1916. He writes:

"Our difficulty in accepting the defence formula is greatly aggravated by the fact that we, of all people, cannot hush up the Polish question, as our Russian comrades have so far been doing." (Don't forget that this gentleman's "comrades" are Potresov[43] and Co.) "And the fact that even the defencists among us do not want to apply the "no annexations" formula in relation to Russia is a strong argument against defence in the eyes of those who are not at present prepared to accept it psychologically. For they ask, ironically: What are you defending? The idea of an independent Poland enjoys recognition in top circles" (which circles is not clear).

When we stated, in our 1915 resolution, that Germanophile chauvinism predominates in the Bund,* the only reply Kosovsky and Co. could give was abuse. Now our statement is corroborated in their own journal, and by their own party colleague! For, if the Bund "defencists" do not wish to apply the "no annexations" formula "in relation to *Russia*" (note that there is not a word about Germany!), then how does this differ, in substance, from Germanophile chauvinism?

If the Bundists wanted to think, and could do so, they would realise that on the question of annexations they are wandering in the dark. There is only one way out of their wanderings and confusion: accept the programme we expounded as early as 1913.** Namely, that a conscientious and

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* See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 163-64.—*Ed.*
** See present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 539-45.—*Ed.*

forthright anti-annexation policy requires that socialists and democrats of the oppressed nations, in all their propaganda and agitation, denounce as scoundrels those socialists of the oppressor nations (whether Great Russians or Germans, Poles in relation to the Ukrainians, etc.) who do not consistently and unreservedly stand for free secession of nations oppressed *by their own nation* (or forcibly held by it).

If the Bundists refuse to accept that conclusion, then it is *only* out of reluctance to quarrel with the Potresovs in Russia, the Legiens, Südekums, even the Ledebours (Ledebour does *not* favour the secession of Alsace-Lorraine) in Germany, with the nationalists, or to be more correct, the social-chauvinists, in Poland, etc.

What a valid reason!

Written September-October 1916

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GREETINGS TO THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS[44]

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, I convey greetings to the Congress of the Italian Socialist Party and wish it every success in its work.

Yours is the *first* socialist party to do what all socialist parties of the warring countries could and should have done, had they not betrayed socialism and sided with the bourgeoisie, namely: convene a congress or conference in a free country, beyond the reach of their "native" military censorship and military authorities, in a country where the socialist attitude towards the war can be freely expressed and discussed. Permit me to express the hope that your Congress—free of patriotic muzzles—will accomplish as much or even more than your party has already accomplished in the struggle against the betrayal of socialism by nearly all the European socialist parties.

Representatives of our two parties worked together at Zimmerwald and Kienthal. The only serious difference dividing us was over the inevitability and necessity of breaking with the social-chauvinists, i.e., socialists in words and chauvinists in deeds, namely, with all those who advocate or seek to justify "defence of the fatherland" in the present imperialist war, who directly or indirectly support their "own" government and their "own" bourgeoisie in this reactionary, predatory war for division of colonies and world domination. We believe that a break with the social-chauvinists is historically inevitable and necessary if the proletariat's revolutionary struggle for socialism is to be sincere,

and not confined merely to verbal protests. Your party's representatives believed there was still hope that proletarian victory over the social-chauvinists ("*sciovinisti*") could be achieved *without* a break.

We would like to hope that developments in world socialism will increasingly remove the grounds for this difference between us.

On the one hand, the workers' movement is increasingly developing towards a *factual* division into adherents and opponents of "defence of the fatherland" in this imperialist war and in subsequent imperialist wars, which are being prepared and instigated by the entire policy of all the modern so-called "Great" Powers. This applies to the whole world, not only to the belligerent countries, but also to the chief neutral powers—the United States of America, for instance, the foremost capitalist country.

On the other hand, we read with especial pleasure an editorial in a recent issue of *Avanti!*, the Central Organ of the Socialist Party, "La chiusura della conferenza socialista tedesca".* This Conference of the German Socialist Party was one of the most outstanding events in world socialism in recent months, for at it there clashed *three* principal trends not only in German, but in *world* socialism: first, avowed social-chauvinism represented by Legien, David and Co. in Germany, Plekhanov, Potresov, Chkhenkeli in Russia, Renaudel and Sembat in France, Bissolati and his party in Italy; second, the Haase-Kautsky trend which subscribes to the basic idea of social-chauvinism, namely, "defence of the fatherland" in the present war, and seeks to reconcile this idea with genuine socialism and internationalism; and, third, the genuine socialist and internationalist trend represented by the *Internationale* group and international socialists in Germany.[45]

Evaluating these three trends, *Avanti!* (No. 269, September 27, 1916) wrote in the above-mentioned editorial:

"...il proletariato tedesco finirà indubbiamente per trionfare contro i Legien, gli Ebert ed i David, che hanno preteso di compromettere la sua azione di classe nei tristi pattegiameni coi Bethmann-Hollweg e gli altri fautori della guerra. Di questo noi abbiamo la più schietta certezza."

* "Conclusion of the German Socialist Conference".—*Ed.*

Noi abbiamo la medesima certezza.

"Piuttosto"—continues *Avanti!*—"la conferenza dei socialisti tedeschi ci lascia incerti circa l'atteggiamento prossimo di una parte della opposizione, quella che ebbe per esponente principale l'Haase".

"Il gruppo 'Internazionale' con Liebknecht, con Mehring, con Clara Zetkin, con Rosa Luxemburg—con tutti gli altri 'sabotatori e traditori della patria' è perfettamente a posto."

..."*Meno conseguente ci è parso Haase*".*

And *Avanti!* explains what it considers to be the "inconsistency" of Haase and his group, which we in our press call the *Kautsky* trend in world socialism,

"*essi non accettano le logiche e naturali conseguenze cui sono giunti Liebknecht e compagni*".**

So writes *Avanti!*

We whole-heartedly welcome these statements of *Avanti!* We feel sure that the *Vorwärts*, Central Organ of the German Social-Democrats and chief organ of the Kautsky trend, is wrong when it writes, in its issue of October 7, 1916, in connection with this *Avanti!* statement,

"dass der *Avanti!* über die Parteiverhältnisse und Parteivorgänge in Deutschland *nicht ganz zutreffend informiert ist*".***

We feel sure that *Avanti!* is "ganz zutreffend"**** informed. That it considers the Haase group wrong and the Liebknecht group right is no accident. We therefore hope that, by its defence of Liebknecht's principles and tactics, the

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* "Undoubtedly the German proletariat will, in the end, triumph over the Legiens, Eberts and Davids, who have sought to compromise its class struggle by wretched deals with the Bethmann-Hollwegs and other supporters of the war. We are fully convinced of that."

We, too, are convinced of that.

"Nevertheless," *Avanti!* continues, "the German Socialist Conference provides no indication of the future conduct of that section of the opposition of which Haase is the chief representative."

"The *Internationale* group of Liebknecht, Mehring, Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg—together with all the other 'saboteurs and traitors to the fatherland'—unfailingly remain at their posts."

"*Haase appears to us to be less consistent.*"—*Ed.*

** 'they do not accept the logical and natural conclusions drawn by Liebknecht and his comrades".—*Ed.*

*** "that *Avanti! is not quite correctly informed* about the affairs of and relations within the party in Germany".—*Ed.*

**** "quite correctly".—*Ed.*

Italian Socialist Party will occupy an outstanding place in international socialism.

Our Party finds itself in incomparably more difficult conditions than the Italian party. Our entire press has been clamped down. But even in emigration we have been able to assist our comrades' struggle in Russia. Two facts prove that our Party's anti-war struggle in Russia is the struggle of truly front-rank *workers* and the *masses* of workers. Firstly, our Party's deputies in the Duma—Petrovsky, Shagov, Badayev, Samoilov and Muranov—elected by the workers of the leading industrial gubernias, have been exiled to Siberia by the tsarist government for revolutionary propaganda against the war.[46] Secondly, long after their exile, the front-rank workers in St. Petersburg belonging to our Party categorically rejected participation in the war industries committees.

A conference of Entente socialists[47] is being convened in January 1917. We have already had one experience of participation in such a conference in London. Our representative was denied the floor the moment he dared tell the truth about the European socialists' betrayal.[48] We therefore consider that only the Bissolatis, Plekhanovs, Sembats and *tutti quanti* should share in these conferences. For that reason we do not intend to attend the conference, and we shall address a letter to the European workers exposing the social-chauvinists' deception of the people.

I once again convey greetings to the Congress of the Italian Socialist Party and best wishes for its success.

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THE "DISARMAMENT" SLOGAN

In a number of countries, mostly small and not involved in the present war—Sweden, Norway, Holland and Switzerland, for example—there have been voices in favour of replacing the old Social-Democratic minimum-programme demand for a "militia", or the "armed nation" by a new demand: "disarmament". An editorial article in favour of disarmament appeared in No. 3 of *Jugend-Internationale* (The Youth International), organ of the international youth organisation. In R. Grimm's "theses" on the military question drawn up for the Swiss Social-Democratic Party Congress we find a concession to the "disarmament" idea. In the Swiss magazine *Neues Leben* (New Life) for 1915, Roland-Holst, while ostensibly advocating "conciliation" between the two demands, actually makes the same concession. Issue No. 2 of *Vorbote* (The Herald), organ of the International Left, carried an article by the Dutch Marxist Wijnkoop in defence of the old armed-nation demand. The Scandinavian Lefts, as is evident from the articles printed below, accept "disarmament", though at times they admit that it contains an element of pacifism."[49]

Let us take a closer look at the position of the disarmament advocates.

I

One of the principal premises advanced, although not always definitely expressed, in favour of disarmament is this: we are opposed to war, to all war in general, and the demand for disarmament is the most definite, clear and unambiguous expression of this point of view.

We showed the fallacy of that idea in our review of Junius's pamphlet, to which we refer the reader.* Socialists cannot be opposed to all war in general without ceasing to be socialists. We must not allow ourselves to be blinded by the present imperialist war. Such wars between "Great" Powers are typical of the imperialist epoch; but democratic wars and rebellions, for instance, of oppressed nations against their oppressors to free themselves from oppression, are by no means impossible. Civil wars of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for socialism are inevitable. Wars are possible between one country in which socialism has been victorious and other, bourgeois or reactionary, countries.

Disarmament is the ideal of socialism. There will be no wars in socialist society; consequently, disarmament will be achieved But whoever expects that socialism will be achieved *without* a social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a socialist. Dictatorship is state power based directly on *violence*. And in the twentieth century—as in the age of civilisation generally—violence means neither a fist nor a club, but *troops*. To put "disarmament" in the programme is tantamount to making the general declaration: We are opposed to the use of arms. There is as little Marxism in this as there would be if we were to say: We are opposed to violence!

It should be observed that the international discussion of this question was conducted mainly, if not exclusively, in the German language. The Germans, however, use two words, the difference between which is not easily rendered in Russian. One, strictly speaking, means "disarmament",** and is used by Kautsky and the Kautskyites, for instance, in the sense of reduction of armaments. The other, strictly speaking, means "disarming",*** and is used mainly by the Lefts in the sense of abolishing militarism, abolishing all militarist systems. In this article we speak of the *latter* demand, which is current among certain *revolutionary* Social-Democrats.

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* See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 305-19.—*Ed.*

** Abrüstung.—*Ed.*

*** Entwaffnung.—*Ed.*

The Kautskyite advocacy of "disarmament", which is addressed to the present governments of the imperialist Great Powers, is the most vulgar opportunism, it is bourgeois pacifism, which *actually*—in spite of the "good intentions" of the sentimental Kautskyites—serves to distract the workers from the revolutionary struggle. For this advocacy seeks to instil in the workers the idea that the present bourgeois governments of the imperialist powers are *not* bound to each other by thousands of threads of finance capital and by scores or hundreds of corresponding *secret treaties* (i.e., predatory, plundering treaties, preparing the way for imperialist war).

II

An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot, unless we have become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, forget that we are living in a class society from which there is no way out, nor can there be, save through the class struggle and the overthrow of the power of the ruling class.

In every class society, whether based on slavery, serfdom, or, as at present, on wage-labour, the oppressor class is always armed. Not only the modern standing army, but even the modern militia—and even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, Switzerland, for instance—represent the bourgeoisie armed *against* the proletariat. That is such an elementary truth that it is hardly necessary to dwell upon it. Suffice it to recall that in all capitalist countries without exception troops (including the republican-democratic militia) are used against strikers. A bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, fundamental and cardinal facts of modern capitalist society.

And in face of this fact, revolutionary Social-Democrats are urged to "demand" "disarmament"! That is tantamount to complete abandonment of the class-struggle point of view, to renunciation of all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie. These are the only

tactics possible for a revolutionary class, tactics that follow logically from, and are dictated by, the whole *objective development* of capitalist militarism. Only *after* the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historic mission, to consign all armaments to the scrap-heap. And the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before.

If the present war arouses among the reactionary Christian socialists, among the whimpering petty bourgeoisie, *only* horror and fright, only aversion to all use of arms, to bloodshed, death, etc., then we must say: Capitalist society is and has always been *horror without end*. And if this most reactionary of all wars is now preparing for that society an *end in horror*, we have no reason to fall into despair. But the disarmament "demand", or more correctly, the dream of disarmament, is, objectively, nothing but an expression of despair at a time when, as everyone can see, the bourgeoisie itself is paving the way for the only legitimate and revolutionary war—civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

A lifeless theory, some might say, but we would remind them of two world-historical facts: the role of the trusts and the employment of women in industry, on the one hand, and the Paris Commune of 1871 and the December 1905 uprising in Russia, on the other.

The bourgeoisie makes it its business to promote trusts, drive women and children into the factories, subject them to corruption and suffering, condemn them to extreme poverty. We do not "demand" such development, we do not "support" it. We fight it. But *how* do we fight? We explain that trusts and the employment of women in industry are progressive. We do not want a return to the handicraft system, pre-monopoly capitalism, domestic drudgery for women. Forward through the trusts, etc., and beyond them to socialism!

That argument takes account of *objective* development and, with the necessary changes, applies also to the present militarisation of the population. Today the imperialist bourgeoisie militarises the youth as well as the adults; tomorrow it may begin militarising the women. Our

attitude should be: All the better! Full speed ahead! For the faster we move, the nearer shall we be to the armed uprising against capitalism. How can Social-Democrats give way to fear of the militarisation of the youth, etc., if they have not forgotten the example of the Paris Commune? This is not a "lifeless theory" or a dream. It is a fact. And it would be a sorry state of affairs indeed if, all the economic and political facts notwithstanding, Social-Democrats began to doubt that the imperialist era and imperialist wars must inevitably bring about a repetition of such facts.

A certain bourgeois observer of the Paris Commune, writing to an English newspaper in May 1871, said: "If the French nation consisted entirely of women, what a terrible nation it would be!" Women and teen-age children fought in the Paris Commune side by side with the men. It will be no different in the coming battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian women will not look on passively as poorly armed or unarmed workers are shot down by the well-armed forces of the bourgeoisie. They will take to arms, as they did in 1871, and from the cowed nations of today—or more correctly, from the present-day labour movement, disorganised more by the opportunists than by the governments—there will undoubtedly arise, sooner or later, but with absolute certainty, an international league of the "terrible nations" of the revolutionary proletariat.

The whole of social life is now being militarised. Imperialism is a fierce struggle of the Great Powers for the division and redivision of the world. It is therefore bound to lead to further militarisation in all countries, even in neutral and small ones. How will proletarian women oppose this? Only by cursing all war and everything military, only by demanding disarmament? The women of an oppressed and really revolutionary class will never accept that shameful role. They will say to their sons:

"You will soon be grown up. You will be given a gun. Take it and learn the military art properly. The proletarians need this knowledge not to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as is being done in the present war, and as the traitors to socialism are telling you to do. They

need it to fight the bourgeoisie of their own country, to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, and not by pious wishes, but by defeating and disarming the *bourgeoisie.*"

If we are to shun such propaganda, precisely such propaganda, in connection with the present war, then we had better stop using fine words about international revolutionary Social-Democracy, the socialist revolution and war against war.

III

The disarmament advocates object to the "armed nation" clause in the programme also because it more easily leads, they allege, to concessions to opportunism. The cardinal point, namely, the relation of disarmament to the class struggle and to the social revolution, we have examined above. We shall now examine the relation between the disarmament demand and opportunism. One of the chief reasons why it is unacceptable is precisely that, together with the illusions it creates, it inevitably weakens and devitalises our struggle against opportunism.

Undoubtedly, this struggle is the main, immediate question now confronting the International. Struggle against imperialism that is not closely linked with the struggle against opportunism is either an empty phrase or a fraud. One of the main defects of Zimmerwald and Kienthal—one of the main reasons why these embryos of the Third International may possibly end in a fiasco—is that the question of fighting opportunism was not even raised openly, let alone solved in the sense of proclaiming the need to break with the opportunists. Opportunism has triumphed—temporarily—in the European labour movement. Its two main shades are apparent in all the big countries: first, the avowed, cynical, and therefore less dangerous social-imperialism of Messrs. Plekhanov, Scheidemann, Legien, Albert Thomas and Sembat, Vandervelde, Hyndman, Henderson, et al.; second, the concealed, Kautskyite opportunism: Kautsky-Haase and the Social-Democratic Labour Group in Germany; Longuet, Pressemane, Mayéras et al., in France; Ramsay MacDonald and the other leaders of the Independent Labour Party in England; Martov,

Chkheidze, et al., in Russia; Treves and the other so-called Left reformists in Italy.

Avowed opportunism is openly and directly opposed to revolution and to incipient revolutionary movements and outbursts. It is in direct alliance with the governments, varied as the forms of this alliance may be—from accepting ministerial posts to participation in the war industries committees. The masked opportunists, the Kautskyites, are much more harmful and dangerous to the labour movement, because they hide their advocacy of alliance with the former under a cloak of plausible, pseudo-"Marxist" catchwords and pacifist slogans. The fight against both these forms of prevailing opportunism must be conducted in all fields of proletarian politics: parliament, the trade unions, strikes, the armed forces, etc.

What is the main distinguishing feature of *both* these forms of prevailing opportunism?

It is that the concrete question of the *connection between the present war and revolution*, *and the other concrete questions of revolution*, are hushed up, concealed, or treated with an eye to police prohibitions. And this despite the fact that before the war the connection between *this* impending war and the proletarian revolution was emphasised innumerable times, both unofficially, and officially in the Basle Manifesto.

The main defect of the disarmament demand is its evasion of all the concrete questions of revolution. Or do the advocates of disarmament stand for an altogether new kind of revolution, unarmed revolution?

IV

To proceed. We are by no means opposed to the fight for reforms. And we do not wish to ignore the sad possibility—if the worst comes to the worst—of mankind going through a second imperialist war, if revolution does not come out of the present war, in spite of the numerous outbursts of mass unrest and mass discontent and in spite of our efforts. We favour a programme of reforms directed *also* against the opportunists. They would be only too glad if we left the struggle for reforms entirely to them and sought

escape from sad reality in a nebulous "disarmament" fantasy. "Disarmament" means simply running away from unpleasant reality, not fighting it.

Incidentally, certain Lefts fail to give a sufficiently concrete answer on the defence of the fatherland issue, and that is a major defect of their attitude. Theoretically, it is much more correct, and in practice immeasurably more important, to say that in the *present* imperialist war defence of the fatherland is a bourgeois-reactionary deception, than to take a "general" stand against defence of the fatherland under "all" circumstances. That is wrong and, besides, does not "strike" at the opportunists, those direct enemies of the workers in the labour parties.

In working out a concrete and practically necessary answer on the question of a militia we should say: We are not in favour of a bourgeois militia; we are in favour only of a proletarian militia. Therefore, "not a penny, not a man", not only for a standing army, but even for a bourgeois militia, even in countries like the United States, or Switzerland, Norway, etc. The more so that in the freest republican countries (e.g., Switzerland) we see that the militia is being increasingly Prussianised, and prostituted by being used against strikers. We can demand popular election of officers, abolition of all military law, equal rights for foreign and native-born workers (a point particularly important for those imperialist states which, like Switzerland, are more and more blatantly exploiting larger numbers of foreign workers, while denying them all rights). Further, we can demand the right of every hundred, say, inhabitants of a given country to form voluntary military-training associations, with free election of instructors paid by the state, etc. Only under these conditions could the proletariat acquire military training for *itself* and not for its slave-owners; and the need for such training is imperatively dictated by the interests of the proletariat. The Russian revolution showed that every success of the revolutionary movement, even a partial success like the seizure of a certain city, a certain factory town, or winning over a certain section of the army, inevitably *compels* the victorious proletariat to carry out just such a programme.

Lastly, it stands to reason that opportunism can never be defeated by mere programmes; it can only be defeated by deeds. The greatest, and fatal, error of the bankrupt Second International was that its words did not correspond to its deeds, that it cultivated the habit of unscrupulous revolutionary phrase-mongering (note the present attitude of Kautsky and Co. towards the Basle Manifesto). In approaching the demand for disarmament from this aspect we must first of all raise the question of its *objective* significance. Disarmament as a social idea, i.e., an idea that springs from, and can affect, a certain social environment, and is not the invention of some crackpot or group, springs, evidently, from the peculiar "tranquil" conditions prevailing, by way of exception, in certain small states which have for a fairly long time stood aside from the world's path of war and bloodshed, and hope to remain that way. To be convinced of this, we have only to consider the arguments advanced, for instance, by the Norwegian advocates of disarmament. "We are a small country," they say. "Our army is small; there is nothing we can do against the Great Powers (and, consequently, nothing we can do to resist forcible involvement in an imperialist *alliance* with one or the other Great-Power group!). We want to be left in peace in our backwoods and continue our backwoods politics, demand disarmament, compulsory arbitration, permanent neutrality, etc." ("permanent" after the Belgian fashion, no doubt?).

The petty striving of petty states to hold aloof, the petty-bourgeois desire to keep as far away as possible from the great battles of world history, to take advantage of one's relatively monopolistic position in order to remain in hidebound passivity—this is the *objective* social environment which may ensure the disarmament idea a certain degree of success and a certain degree of popularity in some of the small states. That striving is, of course, reactionary and is based entirely on illusions, for, in one way or another, imperialism draws the small states into the vortex of world economy and world politics.

Let us cite the case of Switzerland. Her imperialist environment objectively prescribes *two* courses to the labour movement. The opportunists, in alliance with the

bourgeoisie, are seeking to turn the country into a republican-democratic monopolistic federation that would thrive on profits from imperialist bourgeois tourists, and to make this "tranquil" monopolistic position as profitable and as tranquil as possible. Actually, this is a policy of alliance between a small privileged stratum of the workers of a small privileged country and the bourgeoisie of that country *against* the mass of the proletariat. The genuine Swiss Social-Democrats are striving to use Switzerland's relative freedom, her "international" position (proximity to the most cultured countries, the fact that Switzerland, thank God, does not have "a separate language of her own", but uses three world languages) to extend, consolidate and strengthen the *revolutionary* alliance of the revolutionary elements of the proletariat of the whole of Europe. Let's help our own bourgeoisie retain as long as possible its monopoly of the supertranquil trade in the charms of the Alps; perhaps a penny or two will fall to our share—such is the *objective* content of the Swiss opportunists' policy. Let us help weld the alliance of the revolutionary sections of the French, German and Italian proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie—such is the objective content of the Swiss revolutionary Social-Democrats' policy. Unfortunately, it is still being carried out far from adequately by the Swiss "Lefts", and the splendid decision of the 1915 Aarau Party Congress (acceptance of the revolutionary mass struggle) is still largely a dead letter. But that is not the point we are discussing at the moment.

The question that interests us now is: Does the disarmament demand correspond to this revolutionary trend among the Swiss Social-Democrats? It obviously does not. Objectively, the "demand" for disarmament corresponds to the opportunist, narrow national line of a labour movement, a line that is restricted by the outlook of a small state. Objectively, "disarmament" is an extremely national, specifically national programme of small states; it is certainly not the international programme of international revolutionary Social-Democracy.

P. S. In the last issue of the English *Socialist Reviews*[50] (September 1916), organ of the opportunist Independent Labour Party, we find, on page 287, the resolution of the party's Newcastle Conference—refusal to support any war waged by *any* government even if "nominally" it is a war of "defence". And in an editorial on page 205 of the same issue we read the following declaration: "In no degree do we approve the Sinn Fein rebellion [the Irish Rebellion of 1916]. We do not approve armed rebellion at all, any more than any other form of militarism and war."

Is there any need to prove that *these* "anti-militarists", that *such* advocates of disarmament, not in a small, but in a big country, are the most pernicious opportunists? And yet, theoretically, they are quite right in regarding insurrection as one "form" of militarism and war.

Written in October 1916
Published in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 2, December 1916
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Published according to the *Sbornik* text

IMPERIALISM AND THE SPLIT IN SOCIALISM

Is there any connection between imperialism and the monstrous and disgusting victory opportunism (in the form of social-chauvinism) has gained over the labour movement in Europe?

This is the fundamental question of modern socialism. And having in our Party literature fully established, first, the imperialist character of our era and of the present war, and, second, the inseparable historical connection between social-chauvinism and opportunism, as well as the intrinsic similarity of their political ideology, we can and must proceed to analyse this fundamental question.

We have to begin with as precise and full a definition of imperialism as possible. Imperialism is a specific historical stage of capitalism. Its specific character is threefold: imperialism is (1) monopoly capitalism; (2) parasitic, or decaying capitalism; (3) moribund capitalism. The supplanting of free competition by monopoly is the fundamental economic feature, the *quintessence* of imperialism. Monopoly manifests itself in five principal forms: (1) cartels, syndicates and trusts—the concentration of production has reached a degree which gives rise to these monopolistic associations of capitalists; (2) the monopolistic position of the big banks—three, four or five giant banks manipulate the whole economic life of America, France, Germany; (3) seizure of the sources of *raw material* by the trusts and the financial oligarchy (finance capital is monopoly industrial capital merged with bank capital); (4) the (economic) partition of the world by the international cartels has *begun*. There are already over *one hundred* such international cartels, which command

the *entire* world market and divide it "amicably" among themselves—until war *re*divides it. The export of capital, as distinct from the export of commodities under non-monopoly capitalism, is a highly characteristic phenomenon and is closely linked with the economic and territorial-political partition of the world; (5) the territorial partition of the world (colonies) *is completed.*

Imperialism, as the highest stage of capitalism in America and Europe, and later in Asia, took final shape in the period 1898-1914. The Spanish-American War (1898), the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) and the economic crisis in Europe in 1900 are the chief historical landmarks in the new era of world history.

The fact that imperialism is parasitic or decaying capitalism is manifested first of all in the tendency to decay, which is characteristic of *every* monopoly under the system of private ownership of the means of production. The difference between the democratic-republican and the reactionary-monarchist imperialist bourgeoisie is obliterated precisely because they are both rotting alive (which by no means precludes an extraordinarily rapid development of capitalism in individual branches of industry, in individual countries, and in individual periods). Secondly, the decay of capitalism is manifested in the creation of a huge stratum of *rentiers*, capitalists who live by "clipping coupons". In each of the four leading imperialist countries—England, U.S.A., France and Germany—capital in securities amounts to 100,000 or 150,000 *million* francs, from which each country derives an annual income of no less than five to eight thousand million. Thirdly, export of capital is parasitism raised to a high pitch. Fourthly, "finance capital strives for domination, not freedom". Political reaction *all along* the line is a characteristic feature of imperialism. Corruption, bribery on a huge scale and all kinds of fraud. Fifthly, the exploitation of oppressed nations—which is inseparably connected with annexations—and especially the exploitation of colonies by a handful of "Great" Powers, increasingly transforms the "civilised" world into a parasite on the body of hundreds of millions in the uncivilised nations. The

Roman proletarian lived at the expense of society. Modern society lives at the expense of the modern proletarian. Marx specially stressed this profound observation of Sismondi.[51] Imperialism somewhat changes the situation. A privileged upper stratum of the proletariat in the imperialist countries lives partly at the expense of hundreds of millions in the uncivilised nations.

It is clear why imperialism is *moribund* capitalism, capitalism in *transition* to socialism: monopoly, which grows *out of* capitalism, is *already* dying capitalism, the beginning of its transition to socialism. The tremendous *socialisation* of labour by imperialism (what its apologists—the bourgeois economists—call "interlocking") produces the same result.

Advancing this definition of imperialism brings us into complete contradiction to K. Kautsky, who refuses to regard imperialism as a "phase of capitalism" and defines it as a *policy* "preferred" by finance capital, a tendency of "industrial" countries to annex "agrarian" countries.* Kautsky's definition is thoroughly false from the theoretical standpoint. What distinguishes imperialism is the rule *not* of industrial capital, but of finance capital, the striving to annex *not* agrarian countries, particularly, but *every kind* of country. Kautsky divorces imperialist politics from imperialist economics, he *divorces* monopoly in politics from monopoly in economics in order to pave the way for his vulgar bourgeois reformism, such as "disarmament", "ultra-imperialism" and similar nonsense. The whole purpose and significance of this theoretical falsity is to obscure the *most profound* contradictions of imperialism and thus justify the theory of "unity" with the apologists of imperialism, the outright social-chauvinists and opportunists.

We have dealt at sufficient length with Kautsky's break with Marxism on this point in *Sotsial-Demokrat* and *Kommunist*.[52] Our Russian Kautskyites, the supporters

* "Imperialism is a product of highly developed industrial capitalism. It consists in the striving of every industrial capitalist nation to subjugate and annex ever larger *agrarian* territories, irrespective of the nations that inhabit them" (Kautsky in *Die Neue Zeit*, September 11, 1914).

of the Organising Committee (O.C.), headed by Axelrod and Spectator, including even Martov, and to a large degree Trotsky, preferred to maintain a discreet silence on the question of Kautskyism as a trend. They did not dare defend Kautsky's war-time writings, confining themselves simply to praising Kautsky (Axelrod in his German pamphlet, which the Organising Committee has *promised* to publish in Russian) or to quoting Kautsky's private letters (Spectator), in which he says he belongs to the opposition and jesuitically tries to nullify his chauvinist declarations.

It should be noted that Kautsky's "conception" of imperialism—which is tantamount to embellishing imperialism—is a retrogression not only compared with Hilferding's *Finance Capital* (no matter how assiduously Hilferding now defends Kautsky and "unity" with the social-chauvinists!) but also compared with the *social-liberal* J. A. Hobson. This English economist, who in no way claims to be a Marxist, defines imperialism, and reveals its contradictions, much more profoundly in a book published in 1902*. This is what Hobson (in whose book may be found nearly all Kautsky's pacifist and "conciliatory" banalities) wrote on the highly important question of the parasitic nature of imperialism:

Two sets of circumstances in Hobson's opinion, weakened the power of the old empires: (1) "economic parasitism", and (2) formation of armies from dependent peoples. "There is first the habit of economic parasitism, by which the ruling state has used its provinces, colonies, and dependencies in order to enrich its ruling class and to bribe its lower classes into acquiescence". Concerning the second circumstance, Hobson writes:

"One of the strangest symptoms of the blindness of imperialism [this song about the "blindness" of imperialists comes more appropriately from the social-liberal Hobson than from the "Marxist" Kautsky] is the reckless indifference with which (Great Britain, France, and other imperial nations are embarking on this perilous dependence. Great Britain has gone farthest. Most of the fighting

* J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism*, London, 1902.

by which we have won our Indian Empire has been done by natives; in India, as more recently in Egypt, great standing armies are placed under British commanders; almost all the fighting associated with our African dominions, except in the southern part, has been done for us by natives."

The prospect of partitioning China elicited from Hobson the following economic appraisal: "The greater part of Western Europe might then assume the appearance and character already exhibited by tracts of country in the South of England, in the Riviera, and in the tourist-ridden or residential parts of Italy and Switzerland, little clusters of wealthy aristocrats drawing dividends and pensions from the Far East, with a somewhat larger group of professional retainers and tradesmen and a larger body of personal servants and workers in the transport trade and in the final stages of production of the more perishable goods: all the main arterial industries would have disappeared, the staple foods and semi-manufactures flowing in as tribute from Asia and Africa.... We have foreshadowed the possibility of even a larger alliance of Western states, a European federation of Great Powers which, so far from forwarding the cause of world civilisation, might introduce the gigantic peril of a Western parasitism, a group of advanced industrial nations, whose upper classes drew vast tribute from Asia and Africa, with which they supported great tame masses of retainers, no longer engaged in the staple industries of agriculture and manufacture, but kept in the performance of personal or minor industrial services under the control of a new financial aristocracy. Let those who would scout such a theory [he should have said: prospect] as undeserving of consideration examine the economic and social condition of districts in Southern England today which are already reduced to this condition, and reflect upon the vast extension of such a system which might be rendered feasible by the subjection of China to the economic control of similar groups of financiers, investors [rentiers] and political and business officials, draining the greatest potential reservoir of profit the world has ever known, in order to consume it in Europe. The situation is far too complex,

the play of world forces far too incalculable, to render this or any other single interpretation of the future very probable; but the influences which govern the imperialism of Western Europe today are moving in this direction, and, unless counteracted or diverted, make towards such a consummation."

Hobson, the social-liberal, fails to see that this "counteraction" can be offered *only* by the revolutionary proletariat and *only* in the form of a social revolution. But then he is a social-liberal! Nevertheless, as early as 1902 he had an excellent insight into the meaning and significance of a "United States of Europe" (be it said for the benefit of Trotsky the Kautskyite!) and of all that is now being glossed over by the *hypocritical Kautskyites* of various countries, namely, that the *opportunists* (social-chauvinists) are working hand in glove with the imperialist bourgeoisie *precisely* towards creating an imperialist Europe on the backs of Asia and Africa, and that objectively the *opportunists* are a section of the petty bourgeoisie and of certain strata of the working class who *have been bribed* out of imperialist superprofits and converted into *watchdogs* of capitalism and *corrupters* of the labour movement.

Both in articles and in the resolutions of our Party, we have repeatedly pointed to this most profound connection, the economic connection, between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the opportunism which has triumphed (for long?) in the labour movement. And from this, incidentally, we concluded that a split with the social-chauvinists was inevitable. Our Kautskyites preferred to evade the question! Martov, for instance, uttered in his lectures a sophistry which in the *Bulletin of the Organising Committee, Secretariat Abroad*[53] (No. 4, April 10, 1916) is expressed as follows:

"...The cause of revolutionary Social-Democracy would be in a sad, indeed hopeless, plight if those groups of workers who in mental development approach most closely to the 'intelligentsia' and who are the most highly skilled fatally drifted away from it towards opportunism...."

By means of the silly word "fatally" and a certain sleight-of-hand, the *fact* is *evaded* that *certain* groups of

workers *have already drifted away* to opportunism and to the imperialist bourgeoisie! And that is the very fact the sophists of the O.C. want to *evade*! They confine themselves to the "official optimism" the Kautskyite Hilferding and many others now flaunt: objective conditions guarantee the unity of the proletariat and the victory of the revolutionary trend! We, forsooth, are "optimists" with regard to the proletariat!

But in reality all these Kautskyites—Hilferding, the O.C. supporters, Martov and Co.—are *optimists* ... with regard to *opportunism*. That is the whole point!

The proletariat is the child of capitalism—of world capitalism, and not only of European capitalism, or of imperialist capitalism. On a world scale, fifty years sooner or fifty years later—measured on a *world* scale this is a minor point—the "proletariat" of course "will be" united, and revolutionary Social-Democracy will "inevitably" be victorious within it. But that is not the point, Messrs. Kautskyites. The point is that at the present time, in the imperialist countries of Europe, *you are fawning* on the opportunists, who are *alien* to the proletariat as a class, who are the servants, the agents of the bourgeoisie and the vehicles of its influence, and *unless* the labour movement *rids* itself of them, it will remain a *bourgeois labour movement*. By advocating "unity" with the opportunists, with the Legiens and Davids, the Plekhanovs, the Chkhenkelis and Potresovs, etc., you are, objectively, defending the *enslavement* of the workers by the imperialist bourgeoisie with the aid of its best agents in the labour movement. The victory of revolutionary Social-Democracy on a world scale is absolutely inevitable, only it is moving and will move, is proceeding and will proceed, *against* you, it will be a victory *over* you.

These two trends, one might even say *two* parties, in the present-day labour movement, which in 1914-16 so obviously parted ways all over the world, were *traced by Engels and Marx in England* throughout the course of *decades*, roughly from 1858 to 1892.

Neither Marx nor Engels lived to see the imperialist epoch of world capitalism, which began not earlier than 1898-1900. But it has been a peculiar feature of England

that even in the middle of the nineteenth century she already revealed at least *two* major distinguishing features of imperialism: (1) vast colonies, and (2) monopoly profit (due to her monopoly position in the world market). In both respects England at that time was an exception among capitalist countries, and Engels and Marx, analysing this exception, quite clearly and definitely indicated its *connection* with the (temporary) victory of opportunism in the English labour movement.

In a letter to Marx, dated October 7, 1858, Engels wrote: "...The English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat *alongside* the bourgeoisie. For a nation which exploits the whole world this is of course to a certain extent justifiable."[54] In a letter to Sorge, dated September 21, 1872, Engels informs him that Hales kicked up a big row in the Federal Council of the International and secured a vote of censure on Marx for saying that "the English labour leaders had sold themselves". Marx wrote to Sorge on August 4, 1874: "As to the urban workers here [in England], it is a pity that the whole pack of leaders did not get into Parliament. This would be the surest way of getting rid of the whole lot." In a letter to Marx, dated August 11, 1881, Engels speaks about "those very worst English trade unions which allow themselves to be led by men sold to, or at least paid by, the bourgeoisie". In a letter to Kautsky, dated September 12, 1882, Engels wrote: "You ask me what the English workers think about colonial policy. Well, exactly the same as they think about politics in general. There is no workers' party here, there are only Conservatives and Liberal-Radicals, and the workers gaily share the feast of England's monopoly of the world market and the colonies."[55]

On December 7, 1889, Engels wrote to Sorge: "The most repulsive thing here [in England] is the bourgeois 'respectability', which has grown deep into the bones of the workers.... Even Tom Mann, whom I regard as the best of the lot, is fond of mentioning that he will be lunching with the Lord Mayor. If one compares this with

the French, one realises what a revolution is good for after all."[56] In a letter, dated April 19, 1890: "But *under* the surface the movement [of the working class in England] is going on, is embracing ever wider sections and mostly just among the hitherto stagnant *lowest* [Engels's italics] strata. The day is no longer far off when this mass *will* suddenly *find itself*, when it will dawn upon it that it itself is this colossal mass in motion." On March 4, 1891: "The failure of the collapsed Dockers' Union; the 'old' conservative trade unions, *rich* and therefore cowardly, remain lone on the field...." September 14, 1891: at the Newcastle Trade Union Congress the old unionists, opponents of the eight-hour day, were defeated "and the bourgeois papers recognise the defeat of the *bourgeois labour party*" (Engels's italics throughout)....

That these ideas, which were repeated by Engels over the course of decades, were also expressed by him publicly, in the press, is proved by his preface to the second edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, 1892.[57] Here he speaks of an "aristocracy among the working class", of a "privileged minority of the workers", in contradistinction to the "great mass of working people". "A small, privileged, protected minority" of the working class alone was "permanently benefited" by the privileged position of England in 1848-68, whereas "the great bulk of them experienced at best but a temporary improvement".... "With the break-down of that [England's industrial] monopoly, the English working class will lose that privileged position...." The members of the "new" unions, the unions of the unskilled workers, "had this immense advantage, that their minds were virgin soil, entirely free from the inherited 'respectable' bourgeois prejudices which hampered the brains of the better situated 'old unionists'".... "The so-called workers' representatives" in England are people "who are forgiven their being members of the working class because they themselves would like to drown their quality of being workers in the ocean of their liberalism"....

We have deliberately quoted the direct statements of Marx and Engels at rather great length in order that the reader may study them *as a whole*. And they should be studied, they are worth carefully pondering over. For

they are the *pivot* of the tactics in the labour movement that are dictated by the objective conditions of the imperialist era.

Here, too, Kautsky has tried to "befog the issue" and substitute for Marxism sentimental conciliation with the opportunists. Arguing against the avowed and naïve social-imperialists (men like Lensch) who justify Germany's participation in the war as a means of destroying England's monopoly, Kautsky "*corrects*" this obvious falsehood by another equally obvious falsehood. Instead of a cynical falsehood he employs a suave falsehood! The *industrial* monopoly of England, he says, has long ago been broken, has long ago been destroyed, and there is nothing left to destroy.

Why is this argument false?

Because, firstly, it overlooks England's *colonial* monopoly. Yet Engels, as we have seen, pointed to this very clearly as early as 1882, thirty-four years ago! Although England's industrial monopoly may have been destroyed, her colonial monopoly not only remains, but has become extremely accentuated, for the whole world is already divided up! By means of this suave lie Kautsky smuggles in the bourgeois pacifist and opportunist-philistine idea that "there is nothing to fight about". On the contrary not only have the *capitalists* something to fight about now, but they *cannot help* fighting if they want to preserve capitalism, for without a forcible redivision of colonies the *new* imperialist countries cannot obtain the privileges enjoyed by the older (*and weaker*) imperialist powers.

Secondly, why does England's monopoly explain the (temporary) victory of opportunism in England? Because monopoly yields *superprofits*, i.e., a surplus of profits over and above the capitalist profits that are normal and customary all over the world. The capitalists *can* devote a part (and not a small one, at that!) of these superprofits to bribe *their own* workers, to create something like an alliance (recall the celebrated "alliances" described by the Webbs of English trade unions and employers) between the workers of the given nation and their capitalists *against* the other countries. England's industrial monopoly

was already destroyed by the end of the nineteenth century. That is beyond dispute. But *how* did this destruction take place? Did *all* monopoly disappear?

If that were so, Kautsky's "theory" of conciliation (with the opportunists) would to a certain extent be justified. But it is *not* so, and that is just the point. Imperialism *is* monopoly capitalism. Every cartel, trust, syndicate, every giant bank *is* a monopoly. Superprofits have not disappeared; they still remain. The exploitation of *all* other countries by one privileged, financially wealthy country remains and has become more intense. A handful of wealthy countries—there are only four of them, if we mean independent, really gigantic, "modern" wealth: England, France, the United States and Germany—have developed monopoly to vast proportions, they obtain *super*profits running into hundreds, if not thousands, of millions, they "ride on the backs" of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in other countries and fight among themselves for the division of the particularly rich, particularly fat and particularly easy spoils.

This, in fact, is the economic and political essence of imperialism, the profound contradictions of which Kautsky glosses over instead of exposing.

The bourgeoisie of an imperialist "Great" Power *can economically* bribe the upper strata of "its" workers by spending on this a hundred million or so francs a year, for its *super*profits most likely amount to about a thousand million. And how this little sop is divided among the labour ministers, "labour representatives" (remember Engels's splendid analysis of the term), labour members of war industries committees, labour officials, workers belonging to the narrow craft unions, office employees, etc., etc., is a secondary question.

Between 1848 and 1868, and to a certain extent even later, only England enjoyed a monopoly: *that is why* opportunism could prevail there for decades. *No* other countries possessed either very rich colonies or an industrial monopoly.

The last third of the nineteenth century saw the transition to the new, imperialist era. Finance capital *not* of one, but of several, though very few, Great Powers

enjoys a monopoly. (In Japan and Russia the monopoly of military power, vast territories, or special facilities for robbing minority nationalities, China, etc., partly supplements, partly takes the place of, the monopoly of modern, up-to-date finance capital.) This difference explains why England's monopoly position *could* remain *unchallenged* for decades. The monopoly of modern finance capital is being frantically challenged; the era of imperialist wars has begun. It was possible in those days to bribe and corrupt the working class of *one* country for decades. This is now improbable, if not impossible. But on the other hand, *every* imperialist "Great" Power can and does bribe *smaller* strata (than in England in 1848-68) of the "labour aristocracy". Formerly a "*bourgeois labour party*", to use Engels's remarkably profound expression, could arise only in one country, because it alone enjoyed a monopoly, but, on the other hand, it could exist for a long time. Now a "*bourgeois labour party*" *is inevitable* and typical in *all* imperialist countries; but in view of the desperate struggle they are waging for the division of spoils, it is improbable that such a party can prevail for long in a number of countries. For the trusts, the financial oligarchy, high prices, etc., while *enabling* the bribery of a handful in the top layers, are increasingly oppressing, crushing, ruining and torturing the *mass* of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat.

On the one hand, there is the tendency of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to convert a handful of very rich and privileged nations into "eternal" parasites on the body of the rest of mankind, to "rest on the laurels" of the exploitation of Negroes, Indians, etc., keeping them in subjection with the aid of the excellent weapons of extermination provided by modern militarism. On the other hand, there is the tendency of the *masses*, who are more oppressed than before and who bear the whole brunt of imperialist wars, to cast off this yoke and to overthrow the bourgeoisie. It is in the struggle between these two tendencies that the history of the labour movement will now inevitably develop. For the first tendency is not accidental; it is "substantiated" economically. In *all* countries the bourgeoisie has already begotten, fostered and secured

for itself "bourgeois labour parties" of social-chauvinists. The difference between a definitely formed party, like Bissolati's in Italy, for example, which is fully social-imperialist, and, say, the semi-formed near-party of the Potresovs, Gvozdyovs, Bulkins, Chkheidzes, Skobelevs and Co., is an immaterial difference. The important thing is that, economically, the desertion of a stratum of the labour aristocracy to the bourgeoisie has matured and become an accomplished fact; and this economic fact, this shift in class relations, will find political form, in one shape or another, without any particular "difficulty".

On the economic basis referred to above, the political institutions of modern capitalism—press, parliament, associations, congresses, etc.—have created *political* privileges and sops for the respectful, meek, reformist and patriotic office employees and workers, corresponding to the economic privileges and sops. Lucrative and soft jobs in the government or on the war industries committees, in parliament and on diverse committees, on the editorial staffs of "respectable", legally published newspapers or on the management councils of no less respectable and "bourgeois law-abiding" trade unions—this is the bait by which the imperialist bourgeoisie attracts and rewards the representatives and supporters of the "bourgeois labour parties".

The mechanics of political democracy works in the same direction. Nothing in our times can be done without elections; nothing can be done without the masses. And in this era of printing and parliamentarism it is *impossible* to gain the following of the masses without a widely ramified, systematically managed, well-equipped system of flattery, lies, fraud, juggling with fashionable and popular catchwords, and promising all manner of reforms and blessings to the workers right and left—as long as they renounce the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. I would call this system Lloyd-Georgism, after the English Minister Lloyd George, one of the foremost and most dexterous representatives of this system in the classic land of the "bourgeois labour party". A first-class bourgeois manipulator, an astute politician, a popular orator who will deliver any speeches you like, even r-r-revolutionary ones, to a labour audience, and a

man who is capable of obtaining sizable sops for docile workers in the shape of social reforms (insurance, etc.), Lloyd George serves the bourgeoisie splendidly,* and serves it precisely *among* the workers, brings its influence *precisely* to the proletariat, to where the bourgeoisie needs it most and where it finds it most difficult to subject the masses morally.

And is there such a great difference between Lloyd George and the Scheidemanns, Legiens, Hendersons and Hyndmans, Plekhanovs, Renaudels and Co.? Of the latter, it may be objected, some will return to the revolutionary socialism of Marx. This is possible, but it is an insignificant difference in degree, if the question is regarded from its political, i.e., its mass aspect. Certain individuals among the present social-chauvinist leaders may return to the proletariat. But the social-chauvinist or (what is the same thing) opportunist *trend* can neither disappear nor "return" to the revolutionary proletariat. Wherever Marxism is popular among the workers, this political trend, this "bourgeois labour party", will swear by the name of Marx. It cannot be prohibited from doing this, just as a trading firm cannot be prohibited from using any particular label, sign or advertisement. It has always been the case in history that after the death of revolutionary leaders who were popular among the oppressed classes, their enemies have attempted to appropriate their names so as to deceive the oppressed classes.

The fact is that "bourgeois labour parties", as a political phenomenon, have already been formed in *all* the foremost capitalist countries, and that unless a determined and relentless struggle is waged all along the line against these parties—or groups, trends, etc., it is all the same—there can be no question of a struggle against imperialism, or of Marxism, or of a socialist labour movement. The Chkheidze faction,[58] *Nashe Dyelo* and *Golos Truda*[59] in Russia, and the O.C. supporters abroad are nothing but

*I recently read an article in an English magazine by a Tory, a political opponent of Lloyd George, entitled "Lloyd George from the Standpoint of a Tory". The war opened the eyes of this opponent and made him realise what an excellent servant of the bourgeoisie this Lloyd George is! The Tories have made peace with him!

varieties of one *such* party. There is not the slightest reason for thinking that these parties will disappear *before* the social revolution. On the contrary, the nearer the revolution approaches, the more strongly it flares up and the more sudden and violent the transitions and leaps in its progress, the greater will be the part the struggle of the revolutionary mass stream against the opportunist petty-bourgeois stream will play in the labour movement. Kautskyism is not an independent trend, because it has no roots either in the masses or in the privileged stratum which has deserted to the bourgeoisie. But the danger of Kautskyism lies in the fact that, utilising the ideology of the past, it endeavours to reconcile the proletariat with the "bourgeois labour party", to preserve the unity of the proletariat with that party and thereby enhance the latter's prestige. The masses no longer follow the avowed social-chauvinists: Lloyd George has been hissed down at workers' meetings in England; Hyndman has left the party; the Renaudels and Scheidemanns, the Potresovs and Gvozdyovs are protected by the police. The Kautskyites' masked defence of the social-chauvinists is much more dangerous.

One of the most common sophistries of Kautskyism is its reference to the "masses". We do not want, they say, to break away from the masses and mass organisations! But just think how Engels put the question. In the nineteenth century the "mass organisations" of the English trade unions were on the side of the bourgeois labour party. Marx and Engels did not reconcile themselves to it on this ground; they exposed it. They did not forget, firstly, that the trade union organisations directly embraced a *minority of the proletariat*. In England then, as in Germany now, not more than one-fifth of the proletariat was organised. No one can seriously think it possible to organise the majority of the proletariat under capitalism. Secondly—and this is the main point—it is not so much a question of the size of an organisation, as of the real, objective significance of its policy: does its policy represent the masses, does it serve them, i.e., does it aim at their liberation from capitalism, or does it represent the interests of the minority, the minority's reconciliation with capitalism? The

latter was true of England in the nineteenth century, and it is true of Germany, etc., now.

Engels draws a distinction between the "bourgeois labour party" of the *old* trade unions—the privileged minority—and the "*lowest* mass", the real majority, and appeals to the latter, who are *not* infected by "bourgeois respectability". This is the essence of Marxist tactics!

Neither we nor anyone else can calculate precisely what portion of the proletariat is following and will follow the social-chauvinists and opportunists. This will be revealed only by the struggle, it will be definitely decided only by the socialist revolution. But we know for certain that the "defenders of the fatherland" in the imperialist war *represent* only a minority. And it is therefore our duty, if we wish to remain socialists, to go down *lower* and *deeper*, to the real masses; this is the whole meaning and the whole purport of the struggle against opportunism. By exposing the fact that the opportunists and social-chauvinists are in reality betraying and selling the interests of the masses, that they are defending the temporary privileges of a minority of the workers, that they are the vehicles of bourgeois ideas and influences, that they are really allies and agents of the bourgeoisie, we teach the masses to appreciate their true political interests, to fight for socialism and for the revolution through all the long and painful vicissitudes of imperialist wars and imperialist armistices.

The only Marxist line in the world labour movement is to explain to the masses the inevitability and necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by waging a relentless struggle against opportunism, to utilise the experiences of the war to expose, not conceal, the utter vileness of national-liberal labour politics.

In the next article, we shall try to sum up the principal features that distinguish this line from Kautskyism.

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SPEECH AT THE CONGRESS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF SWITZERLAND, NOVEMBER 4, 1916[60]

The Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland recently had the honour of rousing the ire of the leader of the official Danish Social-Democratic Party, Herr Minister Stauning. In a letter to another quasi-socialist Minister, Vandervelde, dated September 15 of this year, Stauning proudly declared that "we [the Danish party] have sharply and definitely disassociated ourselves from the organisationally pernicious splitting activities conducted on the initiative of the Italian and Swiss parties under the name of the Zimmerwald movement".

In greeting the Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland on behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, I do so in the hope that this party will continue to support the effort to unite the revolutionary Social-Democrats internationally, which began at Zimmerwald and which must end in a complete rupture between socialism and its ministerial and social-patriotic betrayers.

This split is maturing in all countries of developed capitalism. In Germany, Karl Liebknecht's colleague, Comrade Otto Rühle, was attacked by the opportunists and by the so-called Centre when he declared in the Central Organ of the German party that the split had become inevitable (*Vorwärts*, January 12, 1916). The facts, however, make it increasingly clear that Comrade Rühle was right,

that in reality there are two parties in Germany, one helping the bourgeoisie and the government wage the predatory war, the other, which for the most part is working illegally, spreading really socialist manifestos among the real masses and organising mass demonstrations and political strikes.

In France, the Committee for the Re-establishment of International Contacts[61] recently published a pamphlet, *The Zimmerwald Socialists and the War*, in which we read that three main trends have developed within the French party. The first, comprising the majority and branded in the pamphlet as socialist-nationalists, social-patriots, has entered into a "holy alliance" with our class enemies. The second, according to the pamphlet, represents a minority and consists of followers of Members of Parliament Longuet and Pressemane, who on key issues go hand in hand with the majority and unconsciously bring grist to the mill of the majority by attracting the discontented elements, lulling their socialist conscience and inducing them to follow the party's official policy. The third trend, the pamphlet says, are the Zimmerwaldists. They maintain that France was involved in the war not because Germany declared war on her, but because she pursued an imperialist policy which, through treaties and loans, bound her to Russia. This third trend unambiguously proclaims that "*defence of the fatherland is not a socialist cause*".

Practically the same three trends have arisen in Russia, as well as in England and in the neutral United States of America—in fact, all over the world. The struggle of these trends will determine the course of the labour movement in the immediate future.

Permit me to say a few words on another point which is being very much discussed these days and on which we Russian Social-Democrats are particularly rich in experience, namely, the question of terrorism.

We have no information yet about the Austrian revolutionary Social-Democrats. We know that there are revolutionary Social-Democrats in Austria, but information about them is very meagre anyway. Consequently, we do not know whether the assassination of Stürgkh by Comrade Fritz

Adler[62] was the application of terrorism as tactics, i.e., systematic organisation of political assassinations unconnected with the mass revolutionary struggle; or whether it was a single act in the transition from the opportunist, non-socialist defence of the fatherland tactics of the official Austrian Social-Democrats to the tactics of revolutionary mass struggle. The latter assumption seems to fit in more with the circumstances. The message of greeting to Fritz Adler proposed by the Central Committee of the Italian party and published in *Avanti!* of October 29, therefore, deserves the fullest sympathy.

At all events, we are convinced that the experience of revolution and counter-revolution in Russia has proved the correctness of our Party's more than twenty-year struggle against terrorism as tactics. We must not forget, however, that this struggle was closely connected with a ruthless struggle against opportunism, which was inclined to repudiate the use of all violence by the oppressed classes against their oppressors. We have always stood for the use of violence in the mass struggle and in connection with it. Secondly, we linked the struggle against terrorism with many years of propaganda, started long before December 1905, for an armed uprising. We have regarded the armed uprising not only as the best means by which the proletariat can retaliate to the government's policy, but also as the inevitable result of the development of the class struggle for socialism and democracy. Thirdly, we have not confined ourselves to accepting violence in principle and to propaganda for armed uprising. For example, four years before the revolution we supported the use of violence by the masses against their oppressors, particularly in street demonstrations. We sought to bring to the whole country the lesson taught by every such demonstration. We began to devote more and more attention to organising sustained and systematic mass resistance against the police and the army, to winning over, through this resistance, as large as possible a part of the army to the side of the proletariat in its struggle against the government, to inducing the peasantry and the army to take a conscious part in this struggle. These are the tactics we have applied in the struggle against terrorism, and

it is our firm conviction that they have proved successful.

I conclude, comrades, by once again greeting the Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland and by wishing you success in your work (*applause*).

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A SEPARATE PEACE

Russia and Germany are already negotiating a separate peace. The negotiations are official, and the two powers have already reached agreement on the main points.

A statement to that effect appeared recently in the Berne socialist paper and is based on information in its possession.[63] The Russian Embassy in Berne hastened to issue an official denial, and the French chauvinists ascribed these rumours to "German dirty work", but the socialist paper refused to attach any importance whatsoever to these denials. In support of its statement it pointed to the presence in Switzerland of German (Bülow) and Russian "statesmen" (Stürmer, Giers and a diplomat who arrived from Spain), and to the fact that Swiss commercial circles were in possession of similar reliable information obtained from Russian commercial circles.

Of course, deception on both sides is quite possible. Russia cannot very well admit that she is negotiating a separate peace, and Germany cannot miss an opportunity to create discord between Russia and England, irrespective of whether or not there are negotiations, and if so, how successfully they are proceeding.

To understand the question of a separate peace we must proceed not from rumours and reports about what is taking place in Switzerland, which cannot be effectively verified, but from indisputably established *political facts* of the last few decades. Let Messrs. Plekhanov, Chkhenkeli, Potresov and Co., now cast in the role of Marxist-liveried lackeys or jesters of Purishkevich and Milyukov, try as they will to prove "Germany's war guilt" and that Russia is fighting a "war of defence"—the class-conscious workers

have not listened and will not listen to these clowns. The war was engendered by the Great Power imperialist relations, i.e., by their struggle for division of the loot, a struggle to decide which of them is to gobble up this or that colony or small state. *Two* conflicts are in the foreground in this war. First, between England and Germany. Second, between Germany and Russia. These three Great Powers, these three great freebooters, are the principal figures in the present war. The rest are dependent allies.

Both conflicts were prepared by the *whole* policy these powers pursued for *several decades* before the war. England is fighting to rob Germany of her colonies and to ruin her principal competitor, who has ruthlessly outrivalled her by his superior technique, organisation and commercial drive—and so thoroughly that England *could not* retain her world domination without war. Germany is fighting because her capitalists consider themselves—and rightly so—entitled to the "sacred" bourgeois right to world supremacy in looting and plundering colonies and dependent countries. In particular, Germany is fighting to subjugate the Balkan countries and Turkey. Russia is fighting for possession of Galicia, which she needs, in particular, to throttle the Ukrainian people (for Galicia is the only place where the Ukrainians have, or can have, liberty—relatively speaking, of course), Armenia and Constantinople, and also to subjugate the Balkan countries.

Parallel with the Russo-German conflict of predatory "interests" is another no less—if not more—profound conflict between Russia and England. The aim of Russia's imperialist policy, determined by the age-long rivalry and objective international strength-ratio of the Great Powers, may be briefly defined as follows: smash Germany's power in Europe with the aid of England and France in order to rob Austria (by annexing Galicia) and Turkey (by annexing Armenia and, especially, Constantinople); and, after that, smash England's power in Asia with the aid of Japan *and Germany* in order to seize the *whole* of Persia, complete the partition of China, etc.

For centuries tsarism has been striving to conquer Constantinople and a larger and larger part of Asia. It

has systematically shaped its policy accordingly and has exploited every antagonism and conflict between the Great Powers. England has resisted these efforts longer, and with more persistence and vigour, than Germany. From 1878, when the Russian armies were approaching Constantinople and the English fleet appeared at the Dardanelles and threatened to bombard the Russians if they dared enter "Tsargrad",* to 1885, when Russia was on the verge of war with England over division of the spoils in Central Asia (Afghanistan; the Russian army's advance into the heart of Central Asia threatened British rule in India), and down to 1902, when England concluded a treaty with Japan, in preparation for the latter's war against Russia—throughout all these years. England was the most resolute opponent of Russia's predatory policies, because Russia threatened to undermine British domination over a number of other nations.

And now? Just see what is happening in the present war. One loses patience with the "socialists", who have deserted the proletariat to go over to the bourgeoisie and talk about Russia waging a "war of defence", or to "save the country" (Chkheidze). One loses patience with sentimental Kautsky and Co. and their talk of a democratic peace, as if the present governments, or any bourgeois government for that matter, *could* conclude such a peace. As a matter of fact, they are enmeshed in a net of *secret treaties* with each other, with their allies, and *against* their allies. And the content of these treaties is not accidental, it was not determined merely by "malice", but by the whole course and development of imperialist foreign policy. Those "socialists" who hoodwink the workers with banal phrases about nice things in general (defence of the fatherland, democratic peace) *without* exposing the *secret* treaties *their own* governments have concluded to rob foreign countries—such "socialists" are downright traitors to socialism.

The German, the English, and the Russian governments only stand to gain from speeches in the socialist camp about a nice little peace, because, firstly, they

* Tsargrad is the old Russian name for Constantinople.—*Ed.*

instil belief in the possibility of such a peace under the present governments, and, secondly, divert attention from these governments' predatory policies.

War is the continuation of policy. But policy also "continues" *during* war! Germany has secret treaties with Bulgaria and Austria on the division of spoils and continues to conduct secret negotiations on the subject. Russia has secret treaties with England, France, etc., and *all* of them concern *plunder* and *robbery*, robbing Germany of her colonies, robbing Austria, partitioning Turkey, etc.

The "socialist" who under such circumstances delivers speeches to the people and the governments about a nice little peace resembles the clergyman who, seeing before him in the front pews the mistress of a brothel and a police officer, who are working hand in glove, "preaches" to them, and to the people, love of one's neighbour and observance of the Christian commandments.

There is undoubtedly a secret treaty between Russia and England, and among other things it concerns Constantinople. That Russia hopes to get Constantinople, and that England does not want to give it to her is well known. If England does give Russia Constantinople, she will either attempt to take it from her later, or else will make this "concession" on terms directed against Russia. The text of the secret treaty is unknown, but that the struggle between England and Russia centres around precisely this question, that this struggle is going on even now, is not only known, but beyond the slightest doubt. It is also known that, in addition to the old treaties between Russia and Japan (the 1910 treaty, for instance, which allowed Japan to "gobble up" Korea and Russia to gobble up Mongolia), a *new* secret treaty was concluded during the present war, directed not only against China, but, *to a certain extent*, *also against England*. That is beyond doubt, although the text of the treaty is unknown. In 1904-05 Japan defeated Russia with England's aid; now she is carefully preparing to defeat England with Russia's aid.

There is a pro-German party in Russian "governing circles"—the Court gang of Nicholas the Bloody, the nobility, army, etc. In Germany, the bourgeoisie (followed by

the socialist-chauvinists) has of late markedly turned towards a pro-Russian policy, towards a separate peace with Russia, towards placating Russia in order to strike with full force against England. As far as Germany is concerned, this plan is clear and leaves no room for doubt. As for Russia, the situation is that tsarism would, of course, prefer to smash Germany first in order to "take" as much as possible—the whole of Galicia, the whole of Poland, Armenia, Constantinople—"crush" Austria, etc. It would then be much easier, with the aid of Japan, to turn against England. But, apparently, Russia has not the strength for that. That's at the bottom of it.

Mr. Plekhanov, the ex-socialist, has tried to make out that the Russian reactionaries are generally in favour of peace with Germany, whereas the "progressive bourgeoisie" are in favour of crushing "Prussian militarism" and support friendship with "democratic" England. That is a fairy-tale suitable to the mental level of political infants. The fact is that tsarism *and* all the Russian reactionaries *and* the "progressive" bourgeoisie (Octobrists and Cadets) want the *same thing*: rob Germany, Austria and Turkey in Europe, and defeat England in Asia (so as to take the whole of Persia, Mongolia, Tibet, etc.). These "dear friends" disagree only as to *when and how* to turn from a struggle against Germany to a struggle against England. Only about when and how!

This question, the only one on which the dear friends differ, will be determined by *military and diplomatic considerations* known in full *only* to the tsarist government: the Milyukovs and Guchkovs know only a quarter of them.

Take the whole of Poland from Germany and Austria! Tsarism is *in favour* of that, but has it the strength? And will England allow it?

Take Constantinople and the Straits! Crush and dismember Austria! Tsarism is entirely in favour of that. But has it the strength? And will England allow it?

Tsarism knows just how many millions of soldiers have been slaughtered and how many *more* may be drawn from the people; it knows just how many shells are being expended and how many more can be obtained (in the event of

war with China, which is threatening, and which is quite possible, Japan will *not* supply any more ammunition!). Tsarism knows how its secret negotiations with England concerning Constantinople have been and are progressing; it knows the strength of the British forces in Salonika, Mesopotamia, etc. Tsarism knows all this. It has all the cards in its hands and is making exact calculations—insofar as exact calculations are possible in such matters where that very doubtful and elusive element, the "fortune of war", plays so great a part.

As for the Milyukovs and Guchkovs, the less they know the more they talk. And the Plekhanovs, the Chkhenkelis, the Potresovs know nothing at all of tsarism's secret pacts; they are forgetting even what they knew before, do not study what can be learned from the foreign press, do not examine the course of tsarism's foreign policy before the war, do not trace *its* course during the war, and are consequently playing the part of socialist Simple Simons.

If tsarism has become convinced that even with all the aid of liberal society, with all the zeal of the war industries committees, with all the help the Plekhanovs, Gvozdyovs, Potresovs, Bulkins, Chirkins, Chkheidzes ("Save the country", don't laugh!), Kropotkins, and the whole of that menial crowd are giving to the noble cause of producing more shells—that even with all this help and with the present state of military strength (or military impotence) of all the allies it can possibly drag and has dragged into the war, it *cannot* achieve more, it cannot hit Germany *harder*, or that it can do so only at excessive cost (for example, the loss of ten million *more* Russian soldiers, the recruiting, training and equipment of whom would cost so many more billions of rubles and so many more years of war), then tsarism *cannot but seek* a separate peace with Germany.

If "we" go after too much booty in Europe, "we" run the risk of utterly exhausting "our" military resources, of gaining almost nothing in Europe and of losing the opportunity of getting "our share" in Asia. This is how tsarism argues, and it argues *correctly* from the standpoint of imperialist interests. It argues *more correctly* than the

bourgeois and opportunist chatterboxes, the Milyukovs, Plekhanovs, Guchkovs and Potresovs.

If no more can be obtained in Europe even after Rumania and Greece (from which "we" have taken all we could) have joined in, then let us take what can still be had! England *cannot* give "us" anything just now. Germany will perhaps return to us Courland and a part of Poland, certainly Eastern Galicia—which "we" particularly need for the purpose of throttling the Ukrainian movement, the movement of historically hitherto dormant people numbering many millions, for freedom and the right to use their native-language—and, very likely, Turkish Armenia also. If we take this *now*, we may emerge from the war *with increased strength*, and *tomorrow* we may, with the aid of Japan and Germany, with a wise policy and with the further aid of the Milyukovs, Plekhanovs and Potresovs in "saving" the beloved "fatherland", get a good slice of Asia in a war against England (the whole of Persia and the Persian Gulf with an outlet to the ocean much better than Constantinople, which is an outlet only to the Mediterranean and is guarded by islands which England can easily take and fortify, thus depriving "us" of every outlet to the open sea), etc.

This is exactly how tsarism argues, and, we repeat, it argues correctly, not only from the narrow monarchist point of view, but also from the general imperialist point of view. It knows more and sees farther than the liberals, the Plekhanovs and the Potresovs.

It is quite possible, therefore, that tomorrow, or the day after we shall wake up and hear the three monarchs proclaim: "Hearkening to the voices of our beloved peoples, we have resolved to endow them with the blessings of peace, to sign an armistice and to convene a general European Peace Congress." The three monarchs may even display their sense of humour by quoting fragments of the speeches of Vandervelde, Plekhanov and Kautsky, such as: we "promises"—promises are the only thing that is cheap, even in this period of soaring prices—"to discuss the question of reducing armaments and of a 'lasting' peace", etc. Vandervelde, Plekhanov and Kautsky will run along and arrange their "socialist" congress in the same city

as the Peace Congress; and there will be no end of pious wishes, sentimental phrases and talk of the need to "defend the fatherland" in all languages. The stage will be well set for concealing the transition from an imperialist Anglo-Russian alliance against Germany to an imperialist Russo-German alliance against England!

But whether the war ends in this way in the very near future, or whether Russia "holds out" a little longer in her effort to vanquish Germany and rob Austria more; whether the separate peace negotiations will prove a shrewd blackmailer's trick (tsarism showing England a draft of a treaty with Germany and saying: "Either so many billion rubles and such-and-such concessions or guarantees, or I sign this treaty tomorrow"), *in all cases* the imperialist war *cannot* end otherwise than in an imperialist peace, *unless* it is transformed into a civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for socialism. In all cases, unless this happens, the imperialist war will result in the strengthening of one or two of the three strongest imperialist powers—England, Germany and Russia—at the expense of the weak (Serbia, Turkey, Belgium, etc.), and it is quite possible that *all* three robbers will become stronger after the war, having divided the booty among themselves (the colonies, Belgium, Serbia, Armenia). The only argument will be over the share each should get.

In all cases, both the full-fledged and avowed social-chauvinists, i.e., the individuals who openly accept "defence of the fatherland" in the present war, and the disguised, half-way social-chauvinists, i.e., the Kautskyites with their preachment of "peace" *in general*, "without victors or vanquished", etc., will inevitably, unavoidably and undoubtedly be fooled and discredited. For any peace concluded by the same, or similar, bourgeois governments that started the war will glaringly show the peoples what a servile role both these types of socialists played in relation to imperialism.

Whatever the outcome of the present war, those who maintained that the only possible socialist way out of it is through civil war by the proletariat for socialism, will have been proved correct. The Russian Social-Democrats

who maintained that the defeat of tsarism, its complete military smash-up, is, "in all cases", the lesser evil, will have been proved correct. For history never stands still; it continues its forward movement during this war too. And if the European proletariat cannot advance to socialism now, cannot cast off the social-chauvinist and Kautskyite yoke in the course of this first great imperialist war, then East Europe and Asia can advance to democracy with seven-league strides only if tsarism is utterly smashed and deprived of *all* possibility to pursue its semi-feudal type imperialist policy.

The war will kill and destroy everything weak, social-chauvinism and Kautskyism included. An imperialist peace would further accentuate *these* weaknesses, show them up in a still more despicable and abhorrent light.

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TEN "SOCIALIST" MINISTERS!

Huysmans, the Secretary of the International Social-Chauvinist Bureau,[64] has sent a telegram of greetings to Danish Minister without portfolio Stauning, the leader of the Danish quasi-"Social-Democratic" Party. The telegram reads: "I learn from the newspapers that you have been appointed Minister. My heartiest congratulations. And so, we now have ten socialist Cabinet Ministers in the world. Things are moving. Best wishes."

Things are indeed moving. The Second International is rapidly moving—towards complete merger with national-liberal politics. Quoting this telegram, the Chemnitz *Volksstimme*,[65] militant organ of the extreme German opportunists and social-chauvinists, remarks, somewhat venomously: "The Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau unreservedly welcomes the acceptance by a Social-Democrat of a ministerial post. And yet only shortly before the war all party congresses, and international congresses, expressed sharp opposition to this! Times and views change—on this issue as on others."

The Heilmanns, Davids and Südekums are quite justified in their condescending praise of the Huysmans, Plekhanovs and Vanderveldes....

Stauning recently published a letter he wrote to Vandervelde. It is full of the stinging remarks a pro-German social-chauvinist would write about a French social-chauvinist. Among other things, Stauning boasts of the fact that "we [the Danish Party] have sharply and definitely disassociated ourselves from the organisationally pernicious splitting activities conducted on the initiative of the Italian and Swiss parties under the name of the Zimmerwald movement". This is literally what he says!

The formation of a national state in Denmark dates back to the sixteenth century. The masses of the Danish people passed through the bourgeois liberation movement long ago. More than 96 per cent of the population are Danes. The number of Danes in Germany is less than two hundred thousand. (The population of Denmark is 2,900,000.) This alone proves what a crude bourgeois deception is the talk of the Danish bourgeoisie about an "independent national state" being the task of the day! This is being said in the twentieth century by the bourgeoisie and the monarchists of Denmark, who *possess colonies* with a population nearly equal to the number of Danes in Germany, and over which the Danish Government is trying to *strike a bargain*.

Who says that in our day there is no trade in human beings? There is quite a brisk trade. Denmark is selling to America for so many millions (not yet agreed upon) three islands, all populated, of course.

In addition, a specific feature of Danish imperialism is the superprofits it obtains from its monopolistically advantageous position in the meat and dairy produce market: using cheap maritime transport, she supplies the world's biggest market, London. As a result, the Danish bourgeoisie and the rich Danish peasants (bourgeois of the purest type, in spite of the fables of the Russian Narodniks) have become "prosperous" satellites of the British imperialist bourgeoisie, sharing their particularly easy and particularly fat profits.

The Danish "Social-Democratic" Party completely succumbed to this international situation, and staunchly supported and supports the Right wing, the opportunists in the German Social-Democratic Party. The Danish Social-Democrats voted credits for the bourgeois-monarchist government to "preserve neutrality"—that was the euphemistic formula. At the Congress of September 30, 1916, there was a nine-tenths' majority in favour of joining the Cabinet, in favour of a deal with the government! The correspondent of the Berne socialist paper reports that the opposition to ministerialism in Denmark was represented by Gerson Trier and the editor J. P. Sundbo. Trier defended revolutionary Marxist views in a splendid speech, and when the party decided to

go into the government, he resigned from the Central Committee and from the party, declaring that he would not be a member of a *bourgeois* party. In the past few years the Danish "Social-Democratic" Party has in no way differed from the bourgeois radicals.

Greetings to Comrade G. Trier! "Things are moving", Huysmans is right—moving towards a precise, clear, politically honest, socialistically necessary division between the revolutionary Marxists, the representatives of the *masses* of the revolutionary proletariat, and the Plekhanov-Potresov-Huysmans allies and agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie, who have the majority of the "*leaders*", but who represent the interests, not of the oppressed masses, but of the minority of privileged workers, who are deserting to the side of the bourgeoisie.

Will the Russian class-conscious workers, those who elected the deputies now exiled to Siberia, those who voted against participation in the war industries committees to support the imperialist war, wish to remain in the "International" of the *ten* Cabinet Ministers? In the International of the *Staunings*? In the International which men like *Trier* are leaving?

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TASKS OF THE LEFT ZIMMERWALDISTS IN THE SWISS SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY[66]

The Congress of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party at Zurich (November 4-5, 1916) definitely proved that the decision to join Zimmerwald and accept *revolutionary mass struggle* (resolution of the 1915 Aarau Congress) remains on paper, and that within the party there has been definitely formed a "Centre", i.e., a trend similar to that of Kautsky-Haase and the Arbeitsgemeinschaft[67] in Germany, and of Longuet-Pressemane and Co. in France. This "Centre", of which R. Grimm has become the head, combines "Left" declarations with "Right", i.e., opportunist, tactics.

It is therefore the task of the Left Zimmerwaldists in the Swiss Social-Democratic Party immediately and effectively to consolidate their forces in order systematically to influence the party so that the Aarau Congress decision shall not remain a dead letter. Consolidation of their forces is all the more urgent since both the Aarau and Zurich congresses have left no doubt whatever as to the revolutionary and internationalist sympathies of the Swiss proletariat. Resolutions of sympathy for Liebknecht are not enough; there must be serious acceptance of his slogan that the Social-Democratic parties of today need *regeneration*.[68]

The platform of the Left Zimmerwaldists in the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland should be, approximately, as follows:

I. ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE WAR AND TOWARDS THE BOURGEOIS GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL

1. "Defence of the fatherland" on the part of Switzerland in the present imperialist war as well as in the new imperialist wars now in preparation is nothing but a bourgeois

deception of the people. For, actually, Switzerland's participation in the present or similar wars would only be participation in a predatory and reactionary war on the side of* *one* of the imperialist coalitions; it would definitely not be a war for "freedom", "democracy", "independence", etc.

2. The attitude of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party towards the bourgeois Swiss Government and towards all the Swiss bourgeois parties must be one of utter distrust. For that government (a) is closely bound up, economically and financially, with the bourgeoisie of the imperialist "Great" Powers and is completely dependent upon them; (b) has long ago turned towards political reaction all along the line in international and domestic affairs (political police, servility towards European reaction and European monarchies, etc.); (c) its whole policy over a period of many years (military reorganisation in 1907, etc., the Egli "case", the de Loys "case",[69] etc., etc.) has proved that it is increasingly becoming a pawn in the hands of the most reactionary Swiss military party and military clique.

3. In view of the above, it is the urgent task of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party to expose the true character of the government, which is cringing before the imperialist bourgeoisie and the militarists, expose its deception of the people by means of phrases about democracy, etc., show the very real possibility of this government (with the approval of the whole of the ruling bourgeoisie in Switzerland) bartering away the interests of the Swiss people to one or the other imperialist coalition.

4. Therefore, in the event of Switzerland's involvement in the present war, it will be the duty of the Social-Democrats absolutely to repudiate "defence of the fatherland" and to expose the use of that slogan to deceive the people. In such a war the workers and peasants would lay down their lives not in their own interests, and not for democracy, but in the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The socialists of Switzerland, as of all other advanced countries, can and must accept military defence of the fatherland *only* when this fatherland has been reorganised

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* In the manuscript the words "in alliance with" are written over the words "on the side of".—*Ed.*

along socialist lines, i.e., defence of the proletarian socialist revolution against the bourgeoisie.

5. Neither in peace nor in war can the Social-Democratic Party and its deputies vote war credits under any circumstances, no matter what deceitful speeches about "defending neutrality", etc., are made to justify such voting.

6. The proletariat's answer to war must be propaganda and the preparation and carrying out of revolutionary mass actions for the overthrow of bourgeois rule, the conquest of political power and the achievement of socialist society, which alone will save mankind from wars. The determination to achieve it is maturing in the minds of the workers of *all* countries with unprecedented rapidity.

7. Revolutionary action must include demonstrations and mass strikes, but under no circumstances refusal of military service. On the contrary, not refusal to take up arms, but turning these arms against *one's own* bourgeoisie is the only action that can correspond to the tasks of the proletariat and to the slogans of the best representatives of internationalism, for example, Karl Liebknecht.

8. The Social-Democratic workers must counter the slightest government action, either before entering or during the war, towards abolishing or curtailing political liberties by forming illegal organisations to conduct systematic, persistent propaganda, undaunted by any sacrifices, for war against war, and explain to the masses the real character of the war.

II. THE HIGH COST OF LIVING AND THE INTOLERABLE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE MASSES

9. Not only in the belligerent countries, but in Switzerland too, the war has led to the unprecedented and scandalous enrichment of a handful of rich people and to incredible want among the masses, resulting from high prices and food shortages. The Social-Democratic Party's main task must be a revolutionary, not reformist, struggle against this calamity: systematic and persistent propaganda and preparation for such a struggle, undeterred by inevitable temporary difficulties and set-backs.

10. In reply to the numerous bourgeois projects of financial reforms, the Social-Democratic Party must make it its main task to expose attempts by the bourgeoisie to shift the burden of mobilisation and war on to the workers and poor peasants.

Under no circumstances, and under no pretext, can Social-Democrats agree to indirect taxation. The decision of the Aarau Congress (1915), and the Huber-Grimm resolution adopted at the Zurich Congress (1916), which permit Social-Democrats to agree to indirect taxes, must be rescinded. All Social-Democratic organisations must forthwith begin most energetically to prepare for the Party Congress in Berne in February 1917, and must elect only delegates who favour rescinding these resolutions.

It is the job of liberal officials, and certainly not of revolutionary Social-Democrats, to help the bourgeois government extricate itself from the present difficulties and preserve the capitalist system, i.e., perpetuate want among the masses.

11. Social-Democrats must propagate as widely as possible among the masses the urgent necessity of introducing a uniform federal property and income tax, with high and progressive scales *not lower* than the following:

Property	Income	Rate of Taxation (per cent)
20,000 francs	5,000 francs	exempt
50,000 ”	10,000 ”	10
100,000 ”	25,000 ”	40
200,000 ”	60,000 ”	60, etc.

Tax on persons living in *pensions*:

Paying	up	to	4	francs	per day	—exempt
”	”	”	5	”	”	” — 1%
”	”	”	10	”	”	” —20%
”	”	”	20	”	”	” —25%, etc.

12. Social-Democrats must ruthlessly combat the bourgeois lie, spread also by many opportunists in the Social-Democratic Party, that it is “impractical” to advocate revolutionary-high rates of property and income taxation. On the contrary, this is the only practical and the only Social-Democratic policy. First, because we must not adapt ourselves to what is “acceptable” to the rich; we must appeal

to the broad masses of the poor and propertyless who are indifferent to, or suspicious of, the Social-Democratic Party, largely owing to its reformist and opportunist character. Secondly, the only way of wresting concessions from the bourgeoisie is not by "bargaining" with it, not by "adapting" ourselves to its interests or prejudices, but by preparing the revolutionary *forces* of the masses *against* it. The larger the section of people we convince of the justice of revolutionary-high taxation rates and of the need to fight to secure such rates, the sooner will the bourgeoisie make concessions. And we will utilise every concession, however small, in the unswerving struggle for the complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

13. The fixing of a maximum salary for all salaried employees and officials, Bundesräte,* etc., of 5,000 to 6,000 francs per annum, according to size of family. The prohibition of the accumulation of all other incomes under penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of such incomes.

14. Compulsory alienation of the factories and works—in the first instance of those that are indispensable for supplying the necessities of life to the population—and also of all agricultural enterprises of over fifteen hectares (over 40 "*Jucharten*") in area (in Switzerland there are only 22,000 enterprises of this size out of a total of 252,000, i.e., less than one-tenth of all agricultural enterprises). Systematic measures, on the basis of these reforms, to increase food output and ensure the people a supply of cheap food.

15. Immediate and compulsory alienation by the state of all water power in Switzerland; this, as well as other alienated property, to be subject to the above-mentioned scales of property and income tax.

III. PRESSING DEMOCRATIC REFORMS AND UTILISATION OF THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE AND PARLIAMENTARISM

16. Utilisation of the parliamentary tribune and the right of initiative and referendum, not in a reformist manner,

* Members of the Federal Council.—*Ed.*

in order to advocate reforms "acceptable" to the bourgeoisie, and therefore powerless to remove the principal and fundamental evils suffered by the masses. The aim should be propaganda in favour of Switzerland's socialist transformation, which is quite feasible economically, and is becoming more and more urgently necessary because of the intolerably high cost of living and the oppression of finance capital, and also because the international relations created by the war are impelling the proletariat of the whole of Europe on to the path of revolution.

17. Abolition of *all* restrictions without exception on the political rights of women compared with those of men. It must be explained to the masses why this reform is particularly urgent at the present time, when the war and the high cost of living are agitating the minds of the broad masses and, in particular, are rousing the interest and the attention of women towards politics.

18. Compulsory naturalisation (*Zwangseinbürgerung*) of all foreigners, free of charge. Every foreigner shall become a Swiss citizen after three months' residence in the country, unless he, on very good grounds, applies for a postponement, which may be granted for not more than three months. It must be explained to the masses that such a reform is particularly urgent for Switzerland, not only from the general democratic standpoint, but also because, owing to its imperialist environment, Switzerland has a larger percentage of foreigners than any other European country. Nine-tenths of these foreigners speak one of the three languages used in Switzerland. The disfranchisement and alienation of foreign workers serve to increase political reaction, which is already mounting, and weaken international proletarian solidarity.

19. Immediate propaganda for Social-Democratic candidates in the 1917 Nationalrat* elections to be nominated only on the basis of a political platform that has been previously widely discussed by the electors. This applies in particular to the question of the attitude towards the war and defence of the fatherland, and the question of reformist or revolutionary struggle against the high cost of living.

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* National Council.—*Ed.*

IV. THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF PARTY PROPAGANDA, AGITATION AND ORGANISATION

20. Effective operation of the Aarau decision on the revolutionary mass struggle is impossible without systematic and persistent efforts to extend Social-Democratic influence over the masses, without drawing into the movement *new* strata of the toiling and exploited masses. Propaganda and agitation for the social revolution must be conducted more concretely, more explicitly, and on pressing practical issues. This will make it understood not only by the organised workers, who under capitalism will always remain a minority of the proletariat and of the oppressed classes in general, but also by the majority of the exploited, who are incapable of systematic organisation because of the terrible oppression of capitalism.

21. To influence broader masses, the party must organise more systematic publication of leaflets for free distribution. These should explain to the masses that the revolutionary proletariat is fighting for the socialist transformation of Switzerland, which is necessary for and in the interests of nine-tenths of the population. Open competitions should be organised between all party branches, particularly the youth organisations, for the best distribution of such leaflets, and street and house-to-house propaganda. More attention and effort must be devoted to propaganda among the rural workers, agricultural labourers and day-labourers, and also among the poor section of peasants who do not exploit hired labour and do not profit, but suffer, from the high cost of living. The party should demand of its parliamentary representatives (National-, Kantons-, Gross-, and other Räte) that they utilise their particularly advantageous political position, not for idle reformist parliamentary talk, which naturally only bores the workers and rouses their suspicion, but for propaganda for the socialist revolution among the *most backward* strata of the proletariat and semi-proletariat in urban, and particularly rural, areas.

22. A decisive break with the theory of "neutrality" of the industrial organisations of the working class, office

employees, etc. A truth most strikingly confirmed by the war should be brought home to the masses, namely, that so-called "neutrality" is bourgeois deception or hypocrisy, that in fact it means *passive* submission to the bourgeoisie and to such of its particularly disgusting undertakings as imperialist war. Social-Democratic activity in every organisation of the working class and of the poor strata of the petty bourgeoisie or office workers must be intensified. Special Social-Democratic groups must be formed within all such organisations; systematic efforts must be made to create a situation in which revolutionary Social-Democracy shall have the majority in and leadership of these organisations. The special importance of this condition for the success of the revolutionary struggle must be explained to the masses.

23. Social-Democratic work among the troops must be extended and intensified, both before and after the call-up. Social-Democratic groups must be formed in all military units. The historical inevitability and legitimacy, from the standpoint of socialism, of using arms in the only legitimate war, namely, the proletarian war against the bourgeoisie to liberate humanity from wage-slavery, must be explained. There must be propaganda against isolated *terrorist actions* and for linking up the struggle of the revolutionary section of the army with the broad movement of the proletariat and of the exploited population generally. There must be more intensive propaganda in support of the section of the Olten decision urging soldiers to refuse to obey when troops are used against strikers, and it should be explained that passive disobedience alone is not enough.[70]

24. To explain to the masses the inseparable connection between the practical, consistent, revolutionary Social-Democratic work, as outlined above, and the systematic struggle over *principles* among the *three main* trends in the present-day labour movement that have arisen in *all* civilised countries, and have taken definite shape also in Switzerland (particularly at the 1916 Zurich Congress). These three trends are: (1) the social-patriots who frankly accept "defence of the fatherland" in the present imperialist war of 1914-16; this is an opportunist trend of the agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement; (2) the Left Zimmerwald-

ists, who, in principle, reject "defence of the fatherland" in the imperialist war. They favour a break with the social-patriots as agents of the bourgeoisie and mass revolutionary struggle, combined with *complete* reorganisation of Social-Democratic tactics to conform with the propaganda and preparation for such struggle; (3) the so-called "Centre" (Kautsky-Haase, Arbeitsgemeinschaft in Germany; Longuet-Pressemane in France),* which stands for unity between the first and the second trends. Such "unity" only ties the hands of revolutionary Social-Democracy, prevents the development of its activity and corrupts the masses by failure inseparably and completely to link up Party principles and Party practice.

At the 1916 Zurich Congress of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, in three speeches on the question of the Nationalratsfraktion** delivered by Platten, Naine and Greulich, there was the very clearly expressed admission that the struggle between the different policy trends within the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland *has long since become a fact*. The sympathies of the majority of the delegates were obviously with Platten when he spoke of the need consistently to work in the spirit of revolutionary Social-Democracy. Naine openly, precisely and definitely declared that two trends were continuously fighting each other within the Nationalratsfraktion, and that the workers' organisations must themselves see to it that adherents of the revolutionary trend who were in complete agreement with each other be elected to the Nationalrat. When Greulich said that the Party had cast off its old "favourites" (*Lieblinge*) and had found new "favourites", he too thereby admitted the existence and struggle of different trends. But no class-conscious and thinking worker will agree with this "favourites" theory. It is precisely in order to prevent the inevitable and necessary struggle between trends from degenerating into a contest between "favourites", into personal conflicts, petty suspicions and petty scandals that all members of the Social-Democratic Party must see to it that the struggle between the different policy trends is fought *openly and on principles*.

* In the German Social-Democratic press the "Centre" is sometimes identified, and rightly so, with the *Right* wing of the "Zimmerwaldists".

** The Socialist Group in the National Council.—*Ed*.

25. An intensified *principled* struggle must be waged against the Grütli-Verein[71] as a glaring manifestation on Swiss soil of the tendencies of *bourgeois* labour politics, namely, opportunism, reformism, social-patriotism and corruption of the masses by bourgeois-democratic illusions. The mistaken and pernicious character of social-patriot and "Centre" policies must be explained to the masses, using the concrete activities of the Grütli-Verein as an example.

26. Preparations must be immediately started for the elections to the February (1917) Party Congress in Berne to ensure that they are held only after every Party organisation has discussed the principles and concrete policies set forth in the various platforms. The platform outlined here shou]d serve as the platform of the consistent, revolutionary, internationalist Social-Democrats.

The election of all leading Party officials, to the Press Commission, to all representative bodies, to all management committees, etc., must take place only on the basis of such a discussion of platforms.

Every local organisation must carefully control the local Party press organ to ensure that it pursues the views and the tactics, not merely of Social-Democracy in general, but of a *precisely defined platform* of Social-Democratic policy.

V. INTERNATIONAL TASKS OF THE SWISS SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

27. In order that acceptance of internationalism by the Swiss Social-Democrats shall not remain an empty and non-committal phrase—to which the adherents of the "Centre", and Social-Democrats of the epoch of the Second International generally, always confine themselves—it is necessary, first, consistently and unswervingly to fight for organisational rapprochement between foreign and Swiss workers bringing them together in the same unions, and for their complete equality (civic and political). The specific feature of imperialism in Switzerland is precisely the increasing exploitation of disfranchised foreign workers by the Swiss bourgeoisie, which bases its hopes on estrangement between these two categories of workers.

Second, every effort must be made to create a united *internationalist* trend among the German, French and Italian workers of Switzerland, a trend that will make for genuine *unity* in all *practical* activity in the labour movement and will combat, with equal determination and on principle, French (in Latin Switzerland), German and Italian social-patriotism. The present platform should be made the basis of a common and united platform of the workers of *all three* main nationalities or languages in Switzerland. Unless worker supporters of revolutionary Social-Democracy belonging to all the nationalities of Switzerland are united in this way, internationalism will remain an idle word.

To facilitate this amalgamation, the publication should be started of supplements (even if weekly [monthly] and only two pages at first) to all Social-Democratic newspapers (and to all periodicals put out by workers', office employees', etc., trade unions). The supplements should be published *in three languages* and should explain the present platform in the light of current political developments.

28. The Swiss Social-Democrats must support in all other socialist parties *only* the revolutionary-internationalist forces, the forces that accept the Zimmerwald Left. This support must not remain platonic. It is particularly important to reprint in Switzerland the anti-government manifestos secretly issued in Germany, France and Italy, translate them into all three languages and distribute them among the workers in Switzerland and all the neighbouring countries.

29. At the Berne (February 1917) Congress the Swiss Social-Democratic Party must not only unreservedly accept the Kienthal Conference decisions, but must also demand an immediate and complete organisational break with the International Socialist Bureau at The Hague, that bulwark of opportunism and social-patriotism, which are irreconcilably hostile to the interests of socialism.

30. The Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland is in a particularly favourable position to keep in touch with developments in the labour movement in the advanced European countries and unite its revolutionary elements. The Party must not, therefore, wait passively for an internal struggle to develop within that movement, but must *keep in*

advance of that struggle. In other words, it must follow the road of the Zimmerwald Left, the correctness of which is being proved more clearly every day by the course of events in the socialist movements of Germany, France, England, the United States and all civilised countries in general.

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THESES ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE SWISS SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY TOWARDS THE WAR[72]

1. The present world war is an imperialist war waged for the political and economic exploitation of the world, for markets, raw material sources and new spheres of capital investment, oppression of weak nations, etc.

The "defence of the fatherland" phraseology of the two warring coalitions is no more than a bourgeois deception of the peoples.

2. The Swiss Government is the steward of the Swiss bourgeoisie, which is wholly dependent upon international finance capital and intimately associated with the imperialist bourgeoisie of the Great Powers.

It is therefore no accident, but an inevitable result of these economic facts, that the Swiss Government is from day to day—and this has been so for decades—conducting an increasingly reactionary policy and secret diplomacy, hampering and violating the people's democratic rights and freedoms, kow-towing to the military clique and systematically and shamelessly sacrificing the interests of the broad masses to the interests of a handful of financial magnates.

Switzerland may at any moment be drawn into the present war as a result of this dependence of her bourgeois government on the interests of the financial oligarchy, and of powerful pressure by one or another of the imperialist coalitions.

3. Consequently, in relation to Switzerland, too, "defence of the fatherland" is now no more than a hypocritical phrase. For in reality it is not a question of defending democracy, independence or the interests of the broad popular masses,

etc., but, on the contrary, of preparing to hurl the workers and small peasants into the holocaust in order to maintain the monopoly and privileges of the bourgeoisie, of strengthening capitalist domination and political reaction.

4. Proceeding from these facts, the Swiss Social-Democratic Party rejects "defence of the fatherland" on principle, demands immediate demobilisation and calls on the working class to reply to the bourgeoisie's war preparations and to war itself, should it break out, with the sharpest methods of proletarian class struggle.

Among these methods the following should be especially urged:

(a) Rejection of civil peace, sharper principled struggle against all bourgeois parties, and also against the Grütli-Verein as an organisation of agents of the bourgeoisie within the workers' movement, and against Grütli trends within the Socialist Party.

(b) Rejection of all war credits, no matter under what pretext requested, both in peace-time and war-time.

(c) Support of all revolutionary movements and every struggle of the working class of the belligerent countries against the war and against their own governments.

(d) Assistance to the revolutionary mass struggle within Switzerland—strikes, demonstrations, armed rising against the bourgeoisie.

(e) Systematic propaganda among the armed forces, establishment for this purpose of special Social-Democratic groups in the army and among conscription-age youth.

(f) Establishment by the working class of illegal organisations in retaliation to every government curtailment or repeal of political freedoms.

(g) Systematic preparation, through regular and consistent explanatory work among the workers, of a situation in which the leadership of all workers' and office employees' organisations without exception would pass into the hands of persons who accept and are capable of conducting this struggle against the war.

5. The Party's aim in the revolutionary mass struggle, adopted at the 1915 Party Congress in Aarau, is a socialist revolution in Switzerland. Economically, this can be carried out immediately. Socialist revolution offers the only

effective means of liberating the masses from the horror of high prices and hunger. It is being brought nearer as a result of the crisis that has gripped the whole of Europe. It is absolutely necessary for the complete elimination of militarism and war.

The Party declares that all bourgeois pacifist and socialist pacifist phrases against militarism and war that fail to accept this goal and the revolutionary means of achieving it, are illusions or lies and can only have the effect of diverting the working class from any serious struggle against the foundations of capitalism.

Without ceasing its fight to improve the position of the wage-slaves, the Party calls upon the working class and its representatives to put on the order of the day propaganda for an immediate socialist revolution in Switzerland. This should be done through mass agitation, speeches in Parliament, legislative proposals, etc., proving the need to replace the bourgeois government by a proletarian government relying on the support of the mass of the propertyless population, and explaining the imperative need for such measures as expropriation of the banks and big industries, repeal of all indirect taxes, introduction of a single direct tax with revolutionary-high tax-rates for big incomes, etc.

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PRINCIPLES INVOLVED IN THE WAR ISSUE

Swiss Left Social-Democrats are unanimous in rejecting the defence of the fatherland principle in the present war. The proletariat, at any rate its best elements, is likewise opposed to defence of the fatherland.

Hence, on this most burning issue confronting contemporary socialism in general and the Swiss Socialist Party in particular, it would appear that necessary unity has been achieved. Closer examination, however, is bound to lead us to the conclusion that it is only *seeming* unity.

For there is absolutely no clarity, let alone unanimity, that a declaration against defence of the fatherland places *exceptionally high demands* on the revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary viability of the party that makes such a declaration, providing, of course, that it is not reduced to a hollow phrase. And such a declaration does become a hollow phrase if we merely reject defence of the fatherland without being fully aware of, i.e., without appreciating, the demands implied, without realising that *all propaganda*, *agitation*, *organisation*, in short, the sum total of party activity, must be radically changed, "regenerated" (to use Karl Liebknecht's expression) and adapted to the *supreme* revolutionary tasks.

Let us carefully consider what rejection of fatherland defence implies, if we approach it as a *serious* political slogan that must really be *carried out*.

First. We call on the proletarians and the exploited of all the belligerent countries, and of all countries faced with the danger of war, to reject defence of the fatherland. We definitely know now, from the experience of several of the warring countries, what this *actually* implies in the present

war. It implies rejection of all the foundations of modern bourgeois society, the undermining of the very roots of the modern social system, and not only in theory, not only "in general", but in practice, directly and immediately. Is it not clear that this can be accomplished *only* if we go beyond the firm theoretical conviction that capitalism has fully matured for its transformation into socialism and accept the practical, direct and immediate carrying out of such transformation, i.e., the socialist revolution?

Yet that is nearly always lost sight of in discussing refusal to defend the fatherland. At best there is "theoretical" acceptance of the fact that capitalism is ripe for transformation into socialism. But *immediate*, *radical change* of all aspects of party activity *in the spirit of the directly imminent socialist revolution—that is shunned*!

The people, it is alleged, are not prepared for that!

But that is ridiculously inconsistent. Either, or. Either we do not proclaim immediate rejection of defence of the fatherland—or we *immediately* develop, or begin to develop, systematic propaganda for immediate socialist revolution. In a certain sense the "people", of course, are "not prepared" *either* to reject fatherland defence *or* accept socialist revolution. But that does not justify two years—two years!—of procrastination and delay in starting to systematically prepare them!

Second. What is being opposed to the policy of defence of the fatherland and civil peace? Revolutionary struggle against the war, "revolutionary mass actions", as recognised by the 1915 Aarau Party Congress resolution. No doubt a very good decision, but ... but the party's record since that congress, the party's *actual* policy, show that it has remained a *paper* decision.

What is the *aim* of revolutionary mass struggle? The party has made no official statement, nor is the question being discussed in general. It is either taken for granted, or frankly admitted, that the aim is "*socialism*". Socialism is being opposed to capitalism (or imperialism).

That, however, is absolutely illogical (theoretically) and void of all practical meaning. Illogical because it is *too* general, too nebulous. "Socialism" in general, as an aim, as the opposite of capitalism (or imperialism), is accepted

now not only by the Kautsky crowd and social-chauvinists, but by many bourgeois social politicians. However, it is no longer a matter of contrasting two social systems, but of formulating the *concrete* aim of the *concrete* "revolutionary mass struggle" against a *concrete* evil, namely, the *present* high cost of living, the *present* war danger or the *present* war.

The whole Second International of 1889-1914 opposed socialism to capitalism in general, and it was *precisely* this too general "generalisation" that brought on its bankruptcy. It ignored the specific evil of its age, which Frederick Engels nearly thirty years ago, on January 10, 1887, characterised in the following words:

"...a certain petty-bourgeois socialism finds representation in the Social-Democratic Party itself, and even in the ranks of the Reichstag group. This is done in the following way: while the fundamental views of modern socialism and the demand for the transformation of all the means of production into social property are recognised as justified, the *realisation of this is declared possible only in the distant future, a future which for all practical purposes is quite out of sight. Thus, for the present one has to have recourse to mere social patchwork...*" (*The Housing Question*, Preface).[73]

The concrete aim of "revolutionary mass struggle" can only be *concrete* measures of socialist *revolution*, and *not* "socialism" in general. The Dutch comrades have given a precise definition of these concrete measures in their programme (published in the *Bulletin of the International Socialist Committee* No. 3, Berne, February 29, 1916): annulment of the national debt, expropriation of the banks and big industry. When we suggest that these absolutely concrete measures be included in an official party resolution, and be systematically explained in the most popular form, in day-to-day party propaganda at public meetings, in parliamentary speeches, in legislative proposals—we get the same procrastinating, evasive and thoroughly sophistical reply that the people are not yet prepared for this, and so on and so forth!

The point is, however, that we should begin preparing them right now, and firmly stick to this work!

Third, the party has "accepted" revolutionary mass struggle. Very well. But is the party *capable* of waging it? Is it

preparing for it? Is it studying *these* problems, gathering together the necessary material, setting up the *proper* bodies and organisations? Is it discussing the issues among the people and with the people?

Nothing of the kind! The party clings to its old line—a thoroughly parliamentarian, thoroughly trade union, thoroughly reformist and thoroughly legalistic line. The party remains manifestly *incapable* of facilitating the revolutionary mass struggle and leading it. It is obviously making no preparations whatever for this. The old routine rules supreme and the "new" words (rejection of fatherland defence, revolutionary mass struggle) remain *mere words*! And the Lefts, failing to realise this, are not mustering their forces, systematically, perseveringly and in all fields of party activity, to combat the evil.

One can only shrug one's shoulders on reading, for instance, the following phrase (the last) in Grimm's theses on the war issue:

> "In conjunction with trade union organisations, party bodies must in this event [i.e., the calling of a mass railway strike if there is a danger of war, etc.] take all the necessary measures."

The theses were published in the summer, and on September 16, the *Schweizerische Metallarbeiter-Zeitung*,[74] issued over the names of its editors, O. Schneeberger and K. Dürr, contained the following phrase (I was on the verge of saying, the following *official reply* to Grimm's theses or pious wishes):

> "...The phrase 'the worker has no fatherland' is in very poor taste at a time when the workers of all Europe, in their overwhelming majority, have for two years been standing shoulder to shoulder with the bourgeoisie on the battlefields against the 'enemies' of their fatherland, while those who remain at home want to 'live through it' despite all the poverty and hardship. *Should we be attacked by a foreign power we shall doubtlessly see the same picture in Switzerland too!!!*"

What is this if not "Kautsky" policy, the policy of the impotent phrase, Left declaration and opportunist practice when, on the one hand, resolutions are proposed urging the party, "in conjunction with trade union organisations", to call for revolutionary mass strikes, and, on the other, no struggle is waged against the *Grütli*, i.e., social-patriot,

reformist and thoroughly legalistic, *trend* and its supporters within the party and the trade unions?

Are we "educating" the masses or corrupting and demoralising them if we fail *daily* to say and prove that "leading" comrades like O. Schneeberger, K. Dürr, P. Pflüger, H. Greulich, Huber and *many* others hold *exactly the same* social-patriot views and pursue *exactly the same* social-patriot policy as the one Grimm so "courageously" exposes and castigates ... when it concerns the Germans (*in Germany*) and not the Swiss? Rail against the foreigners, but protect one's "own" "fellow-citizens".... Is that "internationalist"? Is that "democratic"?

This is how Hermann Greulich describes the position of the Swiss workers, the crisis of Swiss socialism and also the *substance* of Grütli policy *within* the Socialist Party:

"...The standard of living has risen insignificantly and only for the top strata [hear! hear!] of the proletariat. The mass of workers continue to live in poverty, beset by worry and hardship. That is why, from time to time, doubts arise as to the correctness of the path we have been following. The critics are looking for new paths and place special hope on more resolute action. Efforts are being made in that direction, but as a rule [?] they fail [??] and this increases the urge to revert to the old tactics [a case of the wish being father to the thought?].... And now the world war ... drastic decline in the standard of living, amounting to outright poverty for those sections which in the past still enjoyed tolerable conditions. Revolutionary sentiments are spreading. [Hear! hear!] In truth, the party leadership has not been equal to the tasks confronting it and all too often succumbs [??] to the influence of hotheads [??].... The Grütli-Verein Central Committee is committed to a 'practical national policy' which it wants to operate outside the party.... Why has it not pursued it within the party? [Hear! hear!] Why has it nearly always left it to me to fight the ultra-radicals?" (Open Letter to the Hottingen Grütli-Verein, September 26, 1916.)

So speaks Greulich. It is not at all, therefore, a matter (as the Grütlians in the party think, and hint in the press, while the Grütlians outside the party say so openly) of a few "evil-minded foreigners' wanting, in a fit of personal impatience, to inject a revolutionary spirit into the labour movement, which they regard through "foreign spectacles". No, it is none other than Hermann Greulich—whose political role is tantamount to that of a bourgeois Labour Minister in a small democratic republic—who tells us that only the upper strata of the workers are somewhat better off now,

while the *mass* is steeped in poverty, and that "revolutionary sentiments are spreading" not because of the accursed foreign "instigators", but because of "the drastic decline in the standard of living".

And so?

And so, we shall be absolutely right if we say:

> *Either* the Swiss people will suffer hardships that will increase with every passing week and they will be faced daily with the threat of involvement in the imperialist war, i.e., of being killed in the capitalists' interests, *or* they will follow the advice of the finest part of their proletariat, muster all their forces and carry out a socialist revolution.

Socialist revolution? Utopia! "A remote and practically indefinable" possibility!...

It is no more a utopia than rejection of fatherland defence in the present war or revolutionary mass struggle against it. One should not be deafened by one's own words or frightened by the words of others. Nearly everyone is prepared to accept revolutionary struggle against the war. But one must visualise the magnitude of the task of ending the war by revolution! No, it is not a utopia. The revolution is *maturing* in all countries and the question *now* is not whether to continue to live in tranquillity and tolerable conditions, or plunge into some reckless adventure. On the contrary, the question is whether to continue to suffer hardship and be thrown into the holocaust to fight for *alien interests*, or to make great sacrifices for socialism, for the interests of nine-tenths of mankind.

Socialist revolution, we are told, is a utopia! The Swiss people, thank God, have no "separate" or "independent" language, but speak the three world languages of the neighbouring warring countries. It is not surprising, therefore, that they are in such close touch with developments in these countries. In Germany, things have reached a point where the economic life of *66 million people* is directed *from one centre*. The national economy of a country of 66 million is run from this one centre. Tremendous sacrifices are imposed on the vast majority of the people in order that the "upper

30,000" can pocket thousands of millions in war profits, and that millions die in the shambles for the enrichment of these "finest and noblest" representatives of the nation. And in the face of these *facts*, of this *experience*, is it "utopian" to believe that a small nation, with no monarchy or Junkers, with a very high level of capitalism and perhaps better organised in various unions than in any other capitalist country, will try to *save itself from hunger and the danger of war* by doing the *very same thing* that has already been practically tested in Germany? With the difference, of course, that in Germany millions are being killed and maimed to enrich a few, open the road to Baghdad, conquer the Balkans, whereas in Switzerland it is merely a matter of expropriating a maximum of 30,000 bourgeois, i.e., not condemning them to perish, but to the "horrible fate" of receiving "*only*" 6,000-10,000 francs income and giving the rest to the socialist workers' government in order to ward off hunger and the war danger.

The Great Powers, however, will never tolerate a socialist Switzerland and will use their immensely superior strength to crush the socialist revolution at the very beginning!

That, undoubtedly, would be so if, first, the beginnings of a revolution in Switzerland did *not* generate a class movement of solidarity in neighbouring countries, and, second, if these Great Powers were not tied up in a "war of attrition" which has practically exhausted the patience of the most patient peoples. Military intervention by the mutually hostile Great Powers would, in present circumstances, only be the prelude to revolution flaring up throughout the whole of Europe.

Perhaps you think I am so naïve as to believe that such issues as socialist revolution can be resolved by "persuasion"?

No. I only wish to *illustrate*, and, what is more, merely one *partial issue*, the *change* that must take place in all party propaganda if we want to approach the question of *rejection of fatherland defence* with all the seriousness it deserves. That is *only* an illustration, and it concerns *only* one partial issue. I lay claim to no more.

It would be absolutely wrong to believe that immediate struggle for socialist revolution implies that we can, or

should, abandon the fight for reforms. Not at all. We cannot know beforehand how soon we shall achieve success, how soon the objective conditions will make the rise of *this* revolution possible. We should support every improvement, every real economic and political improvement in the position of the masses. The difference between us and the reformists (i.e., the Grütlians in Switzerland) is not that we oppose reforms while they favour them. Nothing of the kind. They confine themselves to reforms and as a result stoop—in the apt expression of one (rare!) revolutionary writer in the *Schweizerische Metallarbeiter-Zeitung* (No. 40)—to the role of "hospital orderly for capitalism". We tell the workers: vote for proportional representation, etc., but don't stop at that. Make it your prime duty systematically to spread the idea of immediate socialist revolution, prepare for this revolution and radically reconstruct every aspect of party activity. The conditions of bourgeois democracy very often compel us to take a certain stand on a multitude of small and petty reforms, but we must be able, or learn, to take *such* a position on these reforms (in such a manner) that—to oversimplify the matter for the sake of clarity—five minutes of every half-hour speech are devoted to reforms and twenty-five minutes to the coming revolution.

Socialist revolution is impossible without a hard revolutionary mass struggle in which many sacrifices have to be made. But we would be inconsistent if we accepted the revolutionary mass struggle and the desire for an immediate end to the war while, at the same time, rejecting immediate socialist revolution! The former without the latter is nil, a hollow sound.

Nor can we avoid hard *struggle within the party*. It would be sheer make-believe, hypocrisy, philistine "head-in-the-sand" policy to imagine that "internal peace" *can* rule within the Swiss Social-Democratic Party. The choice is not between "internal peace" and "inner-party struggle". Suffice it to read Hermann Greulich's letter mentioned above and examine developments in the party over the past several years to appreciate the utter fallacy of any such supposition.

The real choice is this: *either* the *present* concealed *forms* of inner-party struggle, with their demoralising effect on the masses, *or* open principled struggle between the

internationalist revolutionary trend and the Grütli trend inside and outside the party.

An "inner struggle" in which Hermann Greulich attacks the "ultra-radicals" or the "hotheads", without naming these monsters and without precisely defining their policy, and Grimm publishes articles in the *Berner Tagwacht* larded with hints and only comprehensible to one out of a hundred readers, articles in which he castigates those who see things through "foreign spectacles", or those "actually responsible" for the draft resolutions he finds so annoying—that kind of inner struggle *demoralises* the masses, who see, or guess, that it is a "quarrel among leaders" and *do not understand what it is really all about*.

But a struggle in which the Grütli trend *within* the party—and it is much more important and dangerous than outside the party—will be forced *openly* to combat the Left, while both *trends* will everywhere come out with their own independent views and policies, will fight each other on matters of *principle*, allowing the *mass* of party comrades, and not merely the "leaders", to settle fundamental issues—such a struggle is both necessary and useful, for it *trains in the masses* independence and ability to carry out their epoch-making revolutionary mission.

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ON THE DEFENCE OF THE FATHERLAND ISSUE

The bourgeoisie and its supporters in the labour movement, the Grütlians, usually pose the question thus:

Either we recognise in principle our duty to defend the fatherland, or we leave our country defenceless.

That presentation is fundamentally wrong.

This is how the question stands in reality:

Either we allow ourselves to be killed in the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie, or we systematically prepare the majority of the exploited, and ourselves, for seizure—at the price of less sacrifice—of the banks and expropriation of the bourgeoisie in order to put an end to the high cost of living and war.

* * *

The first presentation of the question is thoroughly bourgeois, not socialist. It disregards the fact that we are living in the imperialist era, that the present war is an imperialist war, that in this war Switzerland will under no circumstances be ranged *against* imperialism, but *on the side* of one or the other imperialist coalition, i.e., will in fact become an accomplice of one or another group of the big robber powers, that the Swiss bourgeoisie has long been tied to imperialist interests by thousands of threads. It is of no concern whether this is implemented by a system of inter-relationships and "mutual participation" of the big banks through export of capital, or through the tourist trade, which thrives on the patronage of foreign millionaires, or through unscrupulous exploitation of disfranchised foreign workers, etc.

In short, all the fundamental tenets of socialism, all the socialist ideas, have been forgotten. The predatory nature of the imperialist war is being embellished. One's "own" bourgeoisie is being depicted as an innocent lamb and the case-hardened bank directors of present-day Switzerland as heroic William Tells, and, furthermore, the secret agreements between Swiss and foreign banks and between Swiss and foreign diplomats are overlooked. And this incredible hotchpotch of bourgeois lies is covered up by a fine-sounding and "popular" phrase meant to deceive the people: "defence of the fatherland!"

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THE YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

A REVIEW

A German-language publication bearing the above title has been appearing in Switzerland since September 1, 1915. It carries the subtitle: "Militant and Propaganda Organ of the International League of Socialist Youth Organisations". Altogether six issues have appeared so far. The magazine merits our attention and should be strongly recommended to all Party members in a position to contact foreign Social-Democratic parties and youth organisations.

Most of the official European Social-Democratic parties are advocating the foulest and vilest social-chauvinism and opportunism. This applies to the German and French parties, the Fabian Society and the Labour Party in England, the Swedish, Dutch (Troelstra's party), Danish, Austrian parties, etc. In the Swiss party, notwithstanding the withdrawal (to the great benefit of the labour movement) of the extreme opportunists, now organised in the *non*-party "Grütli-Verein", there still remain within the Social-Democratic Party numerous opportunist, social-chauvinist and Kautskyite leaders who exercise *tremendous* influence on its affairs.

With this state of affairs in Europe, there falls on the League of Socialist Youth Organisations the tremendous, grateful but difficult task of fighting *for* revolutionary internationalism, *for* true socialism and against the prevailing opportunism which has deserted to the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The *Youth International* has published a number of good articles in defence of revolutionary internationalism, and the magazine as a whole is permeated with a fine spirit of intense hatred for the betrayers of

socialism, the "defenders of the fatherland" in the present war, and with an earnest desire to wipe out the corroding influence of chauvinism and opportunism in the international labour movement.

Of course, the youth organ *still* lacks theoretical clarity and consistency. Perhaps it may never acquire them, precisely because it is the organ of seething, turbulent, inquiring youth. However, our attitude towards the lack of theoretical clarity on the part of *such* people must be entirely different from what our attitude is and should be towards the theoretical muddle in the heads, and the lack of revolutionary consistency in the hearts, of our "O.C.-ists", "Socialist-Revolutionaries",[75] Tolstoyans, anarchists, the European Kautskyites ("Centre"), etc. Adults who lay claim to lead and teach the proletariat, but actually mislead it, are one thing: against such people a *ruthless* struggle must be waged. Organisations of *youth*, however, which openly declare that they are still learning, that their main task is to train party workers for the socialist parties, are quite another thing. Such people must be given every assistance. We must be patient with their faults and strive to correct them gradually, mainly by *persuasion*, and not by fighting them. The middle-aged and the aged often *do not know how* to approach the youth, for the youth must of necessity advance to socialism *in a different way*, *by other paths*, *in other forms*, *in other circumstances* than their fathers. Incidentally, that is why we must decidedly *favour organisational independence* of the Youth League, *not only* because the opportunists fear such independence, but because of the very nature of the case. For unless they have complete independence, the youth *will be unable* either to train good socialists from their midst or prepare themselves to lead socialism *forward*.

We stand for the complete independence of the Youth Leagues, but also for complete freedom of comradely criticism of their errors! We must not flatter the youth.

Of the errors to be noted in this excellent magazine, reference must first of all be made to the following three:

1) The incorrect position on the question of disarmament (or "disarming"), which we criticised in a preceding article.*

* See pp. 94-104 in this volume.—*Ed.*

There is reason to believe that this error arises entirely out of the laudable desire to emphasise the need to strive for the "complete destruction of militarism" (which is perfectly correct); but the role of civil wars in the socialist revolution is forgotten.

2) On the question of the differences between socialists and anarchists in their attitude towards the state, Comrade Nota-Bene[76] in his article (issue No. 6) falls into a very serious error (as he also does on several other questions, for instance, our *reasons* for combating the "defence of the fatherland" slogan). The author wishes to present "a clear picture of the state in general" (together with that of the imperialist predatory state). He quotes several statements by Marx and Engels, and arrives at the following two conclusions, among others:

a) "...It is absolutely wrong to seek the difference between socialists and anarchists in the fact that the former are in favour of the state while the latter are against it. The real difference is that revolutionary Social-Democracy desires to organise social production on new lines, as centralised, i.e., technically the most progressive, method of production, whereas decentralised, anarchist production would mean retrogression to obsolete techniques, to the old form of enterprise." This is wrong. The author raises the question of the difference in the socialists' and anarchists' attitude *towards the state*. However, he answers *not* this question, but *another*, namely, the difference in their attitude towards the economic foundation of future society. That, of course, is an important and necessary question. But that is no reason to ignore the *main* point of difference between socialists and anarchists in their attitude towards the state. Socialists are in favour of utilising the present state and its institutions in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class, maintaining also that the state should be used for a specific form of transition from capitalism to socialism. This transitional form is the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is *also* a state.

The anarchists want to "abolish" the state, "blow it up" (*sprengen*) as Comrade Nota-Bene expresses it in one place, erroneously ascribing this view to the socialists. The socialists—unfortunately the author quotes Engels's relevant

words rather incompletely—hold that the state will "wither away", will gradually "fall asleep" *after* the bourgeoisie has been expropriated.

b) "Social-Democracy, which is, or at least should be, the educator of the masses, must now more than ever emphasise its hostility to the state in principle.... The present war has shown how deeply the state idea has penetrated the souls of workers," writes Comrade Nota-Bene. In order to "emphasise" our "hostility" to the state "in principle" we must indeed understand it "clearly", and it is this clarity that our author lacks. His remark about the "state idea" is entirely muddled. It is un-Marxist and un-socialist. The point is not that the "state idea" has clashed with the repudiation of the state, but that opportunist policy (i.e., the opportunist, reformist, bourgeois attitude towards the state) has clashed with revolutionary Social-Democratic policy (i.e., the revolutionary Social-Democratic attitude towards the bourgeois state and towards utilising it against the bourgeoisie to overthrow the bourgeoisie). These are entirely different things. We hope to return to this very important subject in a separate article.[77]

3) The "declaration of principles of the International League of Socialist Youth Organisations", published in issue No. 6 as the "Secretariat's draft", contains not a few inaccuracies, and does not contain the *main* thing: a clear comparison of the *three* fundamental trends (social-chauvinism, "Centre" and Left) now contending against each other in the socialist movement of all countries.

We repeat, these errors must be refuted and explained. At the same time we must make every effort to find points of contact and closer relations with youth organisations and help them in every way, but we must find the *proper* manner of approach to them.

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EFFORTS TO WHITEWASH OPPORTUNISM

The Paris *Nashe Slovo*,[78] recently suppressed by the French Government to oblige tsarism (the excuse being that copies of *Nashe Slovo* were found on the Russian soldiers who had mutinied in Marseilles!), was indignant over the "lamentable" role of Deputy Chkheidze. With the permission of the authorities, Chkheidze addressed public meetings in the Caucasus, appealing to the population not to create "disorder" (accompanied by looting of shops, etc.), but to organise co-operative societies, etc. A nice trip for an *alleged* Social-Democrat to make "under the protection of a governor, a colonel, a priest and a police captain" (*Nashe Slovo* No. 203).

L. Martov forthwith hastened to enter a noble protest in the Bund's *Bulletin* against "representing Chkheidze as a sort of [?? not "a sort of", but "the same sort as all the liquidators"[79]] extinguisher of the awakening revolutionary spirit". Martov's defence of Chkheidze proceeds along two lines: fact and principle.

He challenges the fact by declaring that *Nashe Slovo* quotes from a Caucasian Black-Hundred paper, and that those who spoke at the meeting with Chkheidze were Mikoladze, a retired officer "known in his uyezd as a radical public personality", and the priest Khundadze, who "in 1905 was prosecuted for participating in the Social-Democratic movement". ("It is well known," adds Martov, "that participation of village priests in the Georgian Social-Democratic movement is quite common.")

Such is Martov's "defence" of Chkheidze. And it is a very feeble defence. Even if Chkheidze's appearance on the same platform with a priest was reported by a Black-Hundred

paper it does not refute the *fact*, and Martov himself admits that the fact did occur.

That Khundadze "was prosecuted in 1905" proves absolutely nothing, for Gapon and Alexinsky were also "prosecuted" at that time. What party do Khundadze and Mikoladze belong to, or sympathise with, *now*? Are they *defencists*? That is what Martov ought to have ascertained if he were seeking the truth and not doing a cheap lawyer's job. In our press, a man "known in his uyezd as a radical public personality" ordinarily means simply a liberal landowner.

By shouting that *Nashe Slovo* has presented an "entirely false picture", Martov wishes to conceal the *truth*, which he has not refuted one iota.

But that is not the main thing. We have only the blossoms, the fruit is to come. Having failed to disprove Chkheidze's "lamentable" conduct by denying the fact, Martov *confirms* it by his defence of the *principle*.

"It remains beyond doubt," says Martov, "that Comrade [?? of Potresov and Co.?] Chkheidze found it necessary to speak out not only against the reactionary direction taken by the Caucasian disorders insofar as it fell [? they fell?] under the influence of the Black Hundreds, but also against those of its destructive forms (looting of shops, violence against merchants) which, generally speaking, popular discontent may assume even regardless of reactionary influences." Note the words: "It remains beyond doubt"!

Martov sings like a nightingale; V. Maklakov could do no better: the helplessness, disunity, "consternation and even ignorance" of the masses ... "'revolts' of this kind is not the path that leads to the goal, and in the final analysis are harmful from the standpoint of proletarian interests...." On the one hand, "it would be a bad revolutionary party that turned its back upon an incipient movement because it was accompanied by spontaneous and inexpedient excesses." On the other hand, "it would be a bad party that considered it its revolutionary duty to refrain from combating such excesses as inexpedient actions".... "Inasmuch as in Russia ... an organised campaign of struggle against the war has not yet begun [?], inasmuch as the scattered state of the class-conscious elements of the proletariat makes it impossible to compare our present position, not only with

1904-05, but even with 1914-15 [?], the popular unrest which flares up as a consequence of the high cost of living, etc., although a very important *symptom*, cannot [?] *directly* [?] become the source of that movement for which we are striving. The only way in which it may be 'utilised' expediently is by guiding the discontent that breaks out into the channels of some kind of organised struggle, without which there can be no question of the masses setting themselves revolutionary aims. For this reason, even [!!] appeals to organise co-operative societies, to compel municipal councils to fix prices, and for similar palliatives based on the development of the initiative of the masses, are more revolutionary [ha! ha!] and more fruitful than flirting.... Frivolous speculation is 'positively criminal'," etc.

It is difficult to keep calm when reading outrageous speeches like these. Even the Bundist editors appear to have realised that Martov was behaving dishonestly, and added an ambiguous promise to "return to the subject in a future issue"....

The question is as clear as clear can be. Let us assume that Chkheidze had to deal with a form of unrest which he considered inexpedient. Obviously it was his right and duty as a revolutionary to combat the *inexpedient* form—for the sake of what? For the sake of expedient *revolutionary* actions? Or for the sake of an expedient *liberal* struggle?

That is the whole point! And this is what Martov muddles up!

Mr. Chkheidze was "guiding" the rising revolutionary "mass discontent" "*into the channel*" of a *liberal* struggle (only peaceful co-operative societies, only legal pressure on the municipal councils, with the approval of the Governor, etc.), and not into the channel of an expedient *revolutionary* struggle. This is the crux of the question; but Martov goes on spouting in defence of a liberal policy.

A revolutionary Social-Democrat would say: "It is inexpedient to loot small shops. Let us organise a more impressive demonstration, simultaneously, say, with the Baku, Tiflis and Petrograd workers. Let us direct our hatred against the government; let us win over the part of the army that wants peace. Is *this* what Mr. Chkheidze said? No. He called for a "struggle" *acceptable to the liberals*!

Martov signed a "platform" recommending "revolutionary mass actions"[80]—one has to show oneself a revolutionary before the workers!—but when the first symptoms of such actions appear in Russia, he begins, by fair means or foul, to defend the "Left"-*liberal* Chkheidze.

"In Russia an organised campaign of struggle against the war has not yet begun...." In the first place, this is not true. It has begun, at any rate, in Petrograd, with manifestos, meetings, strikes, demonstrations. Secondly, *if* it has not begun in some other parts of the country, *it must be begun*. But Martov claims that the liberal campaign "begun" by Mr. Chkheidze is "more revolutionary".

What is this, if not whitewashing abominable opportunism?

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THE CHKHEIDZE FACTION AND ITS ROLE

We have maintained all along that Messrs. Chkheidze and Co. do *not* represent the Social-Democratic proletariat and that a genuine Social-Democratic Labour Party will never be reconciled or united with this faction. Our contention was based on the following incontrovertible facts: (1) Chkheidze's "save the country" formula does not in substance differ from defencism; (2) the Chkheidze faction has never opposed Mr. Potresov and Co., not even when Martov did; (3) the decisive fact: the faction has never opposed participation in the war industries committees.

Nobody has attempted to deny these facts. Chkheidze's adherents simply evade them.

The pressure of facts has increasingly compelled *Nashe Slovo* and Trotsky, who reproach us for our "factionalism", to take up the struggle against the O.C. and Chkheidze. The trouble, however, is that it was only "under pressure" (of our criticism and the criticism of the facts) that the *Nashe Slovo* supporters retreated from position to position; but they *have not yet said* the decisive word. Unity or a split with the Chkheidze faction? They are still afraid to decide!

No. 1 of the *Bulletin of the Bund Committee Abroad* (September 1916) contains a letter from Petrograd dated February 26, 1916. It is a valuable document and fully confirms our view. Its author declares unequivocally that there is "a definite crisis in the Menshevik camp itself", and what is particularly characteristic, he *says nothing* about the *Mensheviks opposed* to participation in the war industries committees! He has not seen or heard of them in Russia!

Three out of the five members of the Chkheidze faction, he writes, are opposed to the "defencist position" (like the O.C.) and *two are in favour of it.*

"Those who serve the faction," he writes, "are unable to shift the majority from the position it has taken. The local 'initiating group'[81], which rejects the defencist position, comes to the aid of the faction majority."

Those who serve the faction are liberal intellectuals of the type of Potresov, Maslov, Orthodox[82] and Co., who call themselves Social-Democrats. Our repeated assertions that this group of *intellectuals* is a "hotbed" of opportunism and of liberal-labour politics *have now been confirmed by a Bundist.*

He writes further: "Life [and not Purishkevich and Guchkov?] has brought to the fore ... a new organ, the workers group, which is more and more becoming the centre of the labour movement. [The writer means the Guchkov, or, to use an older term, the Stolypin labour movement; he recognises no other!] *A compromise was reached in the elections to the workers' group: not defence and self-defence, but salvation of the country, by which something broader was implied.*"

This is how a *Bundist* exposes Chkheidze and Martov's lies about him! *At the election* of the Guchkov gang (Gvozdyov, Breido, etc.) to the war industries committees, Chkheidze and the O.C. *entered into a compromise*. The Chkheidze formula is: a *compromise* with the Potresovs and the Gvozdyovs!

Martov concealed and is now concealing this.

The compromise did not end there. The policy statement was also drawn up on the basis of a compromise, which the *Bundist* characterises in this way:

"*Definiteness disappeared*." "The representatives of the faction majority and of the 'initiating group' were dissatisfied because, after all, the statement is a big step towards formulation of a defencist position.... *In essence, the compromise is the position of German Social-Democracy, in application to Russia.*"

So writes a Bundist.

Clear enough, it would seem? There is a party, that of the O.C., Chkheidze and Potresov. Within it there are two contending wings; they *come to an agreement*, they compromise and remain in one party. The compromise is concluded *on the basis* of participation in the war industries committees. The only point of disagreement is how to formulate the "mo-

tives" (i.e., how to dupe the workers). As a result of the compromise we have, "in essence, the position of German Social-Democracy".

Well, were we not right when we said that the O.C. party was social-chauvinist, that, as a party, the O.C. and Chkheidze were the same as the Südekums in Germany?

Even a Bundist is compelled to admit their identity with the Südekums!

Neither Chkheidze and Co., nor the O.C. have ever expressed opposition to the compromise, although they are "dissatisfied" with it.

That was the position in February 1916. In April 1916, Martov appeared in Kienthal with a mandate from the "initiating group" to represent the *whole* O.C., the O.C. *in general*.

Is this not deceiving the International?

And see what we have now! Potresov, Maslov and Orthodox establish *their own* organ, *Dyelo*,[83] which is openly defencist; they *invite* Plekhanov *to contribute*; they enlist Messrs. Dmitriev, Cherevanin, Mayevsky, G. Petrovich, etc., the whole crowd of intellectuals who were formerly the mainstay of liquidationism. What I said on behalf of the Bolsheviks in *May 1910* (*Diskussionny Listok*[84]) about the final consolidation of the *independent-legalists*' *group** has been fully confirmed.

Dyelo takes up a brazenly chauvinist and reformist position. See how Mme. Orthodox falsifies Marx and by misquoting him makes him appear to be an ally of Hindenburg (all on "philosophical" grounds, mind you!), how Mr. Maslov (especially in *Dyelo* No. 2) champions reformism all along the line, how Mr. Potresov accuses Axelrod and Martov of "maximalism" and anarcho-syndicalism, how the magazine generally tries to palm off advocacy of defence as the cause of "democracy" while modestly evading the unpleasant question as to whether or not this reactionary war is being waged by tsarism for a predatory purpose, for throttling Galicia, Armenia, etc.

The Chkheidze faction and the O.C. are silent. Skobelev sends greetings to the "Liebknechts of all countries". The *real* Liebknecht has ruthlessly exposed and condemned

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* See present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 238-51.—*Ed.*

his own Scheidemanns and Kautskyites, whereas Skobelev remains in permanent harmony and friendship with the Russian Scheidemanns (Potresov and Co., Chkhenkeli, *et al.*) and with the Russian Kautskyites (Axelrod *et al.*)

On behalf of himself and of his friends abroad, Martov announces in *Golos*[85] No. 2 (Samara, September 20, 1916) a refusal to contribute to *Dyelo*, but *at the same time* he whitewashes Chkheidze; *at the same time* (*Izvestia* No. 6, September 12, 1916) he asserts that he has parted with Trotsky and *Nashe Slovo* because of the "Trotsky" idea of repudiating the bourgeois revolution in Russia. But everybody knows that this is a lie, that Martov left *Nashe Slovo* because the latter could not tolerate Martov's *whitewashing* of the O.C.! In the same *Izvestia* Martov *defends* his deception of the German public, which even roused the indignation of Roland-Holst. He published a pamphlet in German from which he omitted *the very part* of the Petrograd and Moscow Mensheviks' policy statement in which they announced their *willingness to participate* in the war industries committees![86]

Recall the controversy between Trotsky and Martov in *Nashe Slovo* prior to the latter's resignation from the Editorial Board. Martov reproached Trotsky for not having made up his mind whether or not he would follow Kautsky at the decisive moment. Trotsky retorted that Martov was playing the part of a "bait", a "decoy", trying to entice the revolutionary workers into the opportunist and chauvinist party of the Potresovs, then the O.C., etc.

Both sides repeated *our* arguments. And both were right.

However much the truth about Chkheidze and Co. may be concealed, it will come to light. Chkheidze's role is to compromise with the Potresovs, to *camouflage* opportunist and chauvinist politics by vague or near-"Left" phrases. And Martov's role is to whitewash Chkheidze.

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BOURGEOIS PACIFISM AND SOCIALIST PACIFISM[87]

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BOURGEOIS PACIFISM AND SOCIALIST PACIFISM[87]

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ARTICLE (OR CHAPTER) I

THE TURN IN WORLD POLITICS

There are symptoms that such a turn has taken place, or is about to take place, namely, a turn from imperialist war to imperialist peace.

The following are the outstanding symptoms: both imperialist coalitions are undoubtedly severely exhausted; continuing the war has become difficult; the capitalists generally, and finance capital in particular, find it difficult to skin the people substantially more than they have done already in the form of outrageous "war" profits; finance capital in the neutral countries, the United States, Holland, Switzerland, etc., which has made enormous profits out of the war, is satiated; the shortage of raw materials and food supplies makes it difficult for it to continue this "profitable" business; Germany is making strenuous efforts to induce one or another ally of England, her principal imperialist rival, to desert her; the German Government has made pacifist pronouncements, followed by similar pronouncements by a number of neutral governments.

Are there any chances for a speedy end to the war?

It is very hard to give a positive reply to this question. In our opinion, two possibilities present themselves rather definitely.

First, conclusion of a separate peace between Germany and Russia, though perhaps not in the usual form of a formal written treaty. Second, no such peace will be concluded; England and her allies are still in a position to hold out for another year or two, etc. If the first assumption is correct the war will come to an end, if not immediately, then in the very near future, and no important changes in its course can be expected. If the second assumption is correct, then the war may continue indefinitely.

Let us examine the first possibility.

That negotiations for a separate peace between Germany and Russia were conducted quite recently, that Nicholas II himself, or the top Court clique, favour such a peace, that a turn has taken place in world politics from a Russo-British imperialist alliance against Germany to a no less imperialist Russo-German alliance against England—all that is beyond doubt.

The replacement of Stürmer by Trepov, the tsarist government's public declaration that Russia's "right" to Constantinople has been recognised by all the Allies, and the setting up by Germany of a separate Polish state—these seem to indicate that the separate peace negotiations have ended in failure. Perhaps tsarism entered into them *solely* to blackmail England, obtain formal and unambiguous recognition of Nicholas the Bloody's "right" to Constantinople and certain "weighty" guarantees of that right?

There is nothing improbable in that assumption, considering that the main, fundamental purpose of the present imperialist war is the division of the spoils among the three principal imperialist rivals, the three robbers, Russia, Germany and England.

On the other hand, the clearer it becomes to tsarism that there is no practical, military possibility of regaining Poland, winning Constantinople, breaking Germany's iron front, which she is magnificently straightening out, shortening and strengthening by her recent victories in Rumania, the more tsarism is finding itself *compelled* to conclude a separate peace with Germany, *that is*, to abandon its imperialist alliance with England against Germany for an imperialist alliance with Germany against England. And why not? Was not Russia on the verge of war with England as a result of their imperialist rivalry over the division of the spoils in Central Asia? And did not England and Germany negotiate in 1898 for an alliance *against* Russia? They secretly agreed then to divide up the Portuguese colonies "in the event" of Portugal failing to meet her financial obligations!

The growing trend among leading imperialist circles in Germany towards an alliance with Russia against England was already clearly defined several months ago. The basis of

this alliance, apparently, is to be the partition of Galicia (it is very important for tsarism to strangle the centre of Ukrainian agitation and Ukrainian liberty), Armenia and *perhaps Rumania*! In fact there was a "hint" in a German newspaper that Rumania might be divided among Austria, Bulgaria and Russia! Germany could agree to other minor concessions to tsarism if only she could achieve an alliance with Russia, and perhaps also with Japan, against England.

A separate peace between Nicholas II and Wilhelm II could have been concluded secretly. There have been instances in diplomatic history of treaties known only to two or three persons and kept secret from everyone else, even Cabinet Ministers. Diplomatic history knows instances of the "Great Powers" gathering at "European" congresses after the principal rivals had secretly decided the main questions among themselves (for example, the secret agreement between Russia and England to plunder Turkey, prior to the Berlin Congress of 1878). It would not be at all surprising if tsarism rejected a formal separate peace between the governments for the reason, among others, that the present situation in Russia might result in Milyukov and Guchkov, or Milyukov and Kerensky, taking over the government, while at the same time, it may have concluded a secret, informal, but none the less "durable" treaty with Germany to the effect that the two "high contracting parties" undertake jointly to pursue *such-and-such* a policy at the forthcoming peace congress!

It is impossible to say whether or not this assumption is correct. At any rate, it is a thousand times nearer the *truth*, is a far better description of *things as they actually are* than are the pious phrases about peace between the present governments, or between any bourgeois governments for that matter, on the basis of no annexations, etc. These phrases either express innocent desires or are hypocrisy and lies meant to conceal the truth. And the truth of the present time, of the present war, of the present attempts to conclude peace, is the *division of the imperialist spoils*. That is at the bottom of it all; and to understand this truth, to express it, "to show things as they actually are", is the fundamental task of socialist policy as distinct from bourgeois policy, the principal aim of which is to conceal, to gloss over this truth.

Both imperialist coalitions have grabbed a certain amount of loot, and the two principal and most powerful of the robbers, Germany and England, have grabbed most. England has not lost an inch of her territory or of her colonies; but she has "acquired" the German colonies and part of Turkey (Mesopotamia). Germany has lost nearly all her colonies, but has acquired immeasurably more valuable territory in Europe, having seized Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, part of France, part of Russia, etc. The fight now is over the division of the loot, and the "chieftain" of each of the robber gangs, i.e., England and Germany, must to some degree reward his allies, who, with the exception of Bulgaria and to a lesser extent Italy, have lost a great deal. The weakest of the allies have lost most: in the English coalition, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania have been crushed; in the German coalition, Turkey has lost Armenia and part of Mesopotamia.

So far Germany has secured undoubtedly far more loot than England. So far Germany has won; she has proved to be far stronger than anyone anticipated before the war. Naturally, therefore, it would be to Germany's advantage to conclude peace as speedily as possible, for her rival might still be able, given the most favourable opportunity conceivable (although not very probably), to mobilise a larger reserve of recruits, etc.

Such is the *objective* situation. Such is the present position in the struggle for the division of the imperialist loot. It is quite natural that *this* situation should give rise to pacifist strivings, declarations and pronouncements, mainly on the part of the bourgeoisie and governments of the German coalition and of the neutral countries. It is equally natural that the bourgeoisie and *its* governments are compelled to exert every effort to hoodwink the people, to cover up the hideous nakedness of an imperialist peace—the division of the loot—by phrases, utterly false phrases about a democratic peace, the liberty of small nations, armaments reduction, etc.

But while it is natural for the bourgeoisie to try to hoodwink the people, how are the socialists fulfilling their duty? This we shall deal with in the next article (or chapter).

ARTICLE (OR CHAPTER) II
THE PACIFISM OF KAUTSKY AND TURATI

Kautsky is the most authoritative theoretician of the Second International, the most prominent leader of the so-called "Marxist centre" in Germany, the representative of the opposition which organised a separate group in the Reichstag, the Social-Democratic Labour Group (Haase, Ledebour and others). A number of Social-Democratic newspapers in Germany are now publishing articles by Kautsky on the terms of peace, which paraphrase the official Social-Democratic Labour Group declaration on the German Government's well-known note proposing peace negotiations. The declaration, which calls on the German Government to propose definite terms of peace, contains the following characteristic statement:

"...In order that this [German Government] note may lead to peace, all countries must unequivocally renounce all thought of annexing foreign territory, of the political, economic or military subjection of any people whatsoever...."

In paraphrasing and concretising this, Kautsky set out to "prove" in his lengthy articles that Constantinople must not go to Russia and that Turkey must not be made a vassal state to anyone.

Let us take a closer look at these political slogans and arguments of Kautsky and his associates.

In a matter that affects Russia, i.e., Germany's imperialist rival, Kautsky advances, not abstract or "general" demands, but a very concrete, precise and definite demand: Constantinople must not go to Russia. He thereby *exposes* the *real* imperialist designs ... of Russia. In a matter that affects Germany, however, i.e., the country where the majority of the party, which regards Kautsky as its member (and appointed him editor of its principal, leading theoretical organ, *Die Neue Zeit*), is helping the bourgeoisie and the government to conduct an imperialist war, Kautsky does *not* expose the *concrete* imperialist designs of *his own* government, but confines himself to a "general" desideratum or proposition: Turkey must not be made a vassal state to anyone!!

How, in substance, does Kautsky's policy differ from that of the militant, so to speak, social-chauvinists (i.e., socialists in words but chauvinists in deeds) of France and England? While frankly exposing the concrete imperialist actions of Germany, they make shift with "general" desiderata or propositions when it is a matter of countries or nations conquered by England and Russia. They shout about the seizure of Belgium and Serbia, but are silent about the seizure of Galicia, Armenia, the African colonies.

Actually, both the policy of Kautsky and that of Sembat and Henderson help *their* respective imperialist governments by focusing attention on the wickedness of their rival and enemy, while throwing a veil of vague, general phrases and sentimental wishes around the *equally* imperialist conduct of "*their own*" bourgeoisie. We would cease to be Marxists, we would cease to be socialists in general, if we confined ourselves to the Christian, so to speak, contemplation of the benignity of benign general phrases and refrained from exposing their *real* political significance. Do we not constantly see the diplomacy of all the imperialist powers flaunting magnanimous "general" phrases and "democratic" declarations in order to *conceal* their robbery, violation and strangulation of small nations?

"Turkey must not be made a vassal state to anyone...." If I say no more than that, the impression is that I favour Turkey's complete freedom. As a matter of fact, I am merely repeating a phrase usually uttered by German, diplomats who are *deliberately* lying and deceiving, and employ that phrase to conceal the *fact* that Germany *has already* converted Turkey into her financial *and* military vassal! And if I am a German socialist, my "general" phrases can only be to the *advantage* of German diplomacy, for their real significance is that they put German imperialism *in a good light*.

"All countries must renounce all thought of annexations... of the economic subjection of any people whatsoever...." What magnanimity! A thousand times the imperialists have "renounced all thought" of annexations and of the financial strangulation of weak nations. But should we not compare these renunciations with the *facts*, which show that any one of the big banks of Germany, England, France and the United States *does hold* small nations "*in subjection*"?

Can the present bourgeois government of a wealthy country *really* renounce annexations and the economic subjugation of alien peoples when millions and millions have been invested in the railways and other enterprises of weak nations?

Who is really fighting annexations, etc.? Those who bandy magnanimous phrases, which, objectively, have the same significance as the Christian holy water sprinkled on the crowned and capitalist robbers? Or those who explain to the workers the impossibility of eliminating annexations and financial strangulation without overthrowing the imperialist bourgeoisie and its governments?

Here is an Italian illustration of the kind of pacifism Kautsky preaches.

Avanti!, the Central Organ of the Socialist Party of Italy, of December 25, 1916, contains an article by the well-known reformist, Filippo Turati, entitled "Abracadabra". On November 22, 1916, he writes, the socialist group tabled a peace resolution in the Italian Parliament. It declared that "the principles proclaimed by the representatives of England and Germany were identical, and these principles should be made the basis of a possible peace"; and it invited "the government to start peace negotiations through the mediation of the United States and other neutral countries". This is Turati's own account of the socialist proposal.

On December 6, 1916, the Chamber "buries" the socialist resolution by "adjourning" the debate on it. On December 12, the German Chancellor proposes in the Reichstag the very thing the Italian socialists proposed. On December 22, Wilson issues his Note which, in the words of Turati, "paraphrases and repeats the ideas and arguments of the socialist proposal". On December 23, other neutral countries come on the scene and paraphrase Wilson's Note.

We are accused of having sold ourselves to the Germans, exclaims Turati. Have Wilson and the neutral countries also sold themselves to Germany?

On December 17, Turati delivered a speech in Parliament, one passage of which caused an unusual and deserved sensation. This is the passage, quoted from the report in *Avanti!*:

"Let us assume that a discussion similar to the one proposed by Germany is able, in the main, to settle such

questions as the evacuation of Belgium and France, the restoration of Rumania, Serbia and, if you will, Montenegro; I will add the rectification of the Italian frontiers in regard to what is indisputably Italian and corresponds to guarantees of a strategical character".... At this point the bourgeois and chauvinist Chamber interrupts Turati, and from all sides the shout goes up: "Excellent! So you too want all this! Long live Turati! Long live Turati!"...

Apparently, Turati realised that there was something wrong about this bourgeois enthusiasm and tried to "correct" himself and "explain".

"Gentlemen," he said, "there is no occasion for irrelevant jesting. It is one thing to admit the relevance and right of national unity, which we have always recognised, but it is quite another thing to provoke, or justify, war for this aim."

But neither Turati's "explanation", nor the articles in *Avanti!* in his defence, nor Turati's letter of December 21, nor the article by a certain "B.B." in the Zurich *Volksrecht* can "correct" or explain away the fact that *Turati gave himself away*!... Or, more correct, not Turati, but the whole of socialist pacifism represented by Kautsky, and, as we shall see below, the French "Kautskyites", gave itself away. The Italian bourgeois press was right in seizing upon and exulting over this passage in Turati's speech.

The above-mentioned "B.B." tried to defend Turati by arguing that the latter referred only to "the right of nations to self-determination".

Poor defence! What has this to do with "the right of nations to self-determination", which, as everyone knows, the Marxist programme regards—and the programme of international democracy has always regarded—as referring to the defence of *oppressed* nations? What has it to do with the imperialist war, i.e., a war for the division of colonies, a war for the *oppression* of foreign countries, a war *among* predatory and oppressing powers to decide *which* of them shall oppress *more* foreign nations?

How does this argument about self-determination of nations, used to justify an imperialist, not national, war, differ from the speeches of Alexinsky, Hervé and Hyndman? They argue that *republican* France is opposed to monarchist

Germany, though everyone knows that this war is not due to the conflict between republican and monarchist principles, but is a war between two imperialist coalitions for the division of colonies, etc.

Turati explained and pleaded that he does *not* "justify" the war.

We will take the reformist, Kautskyite Turati's word for it that he did not *intend* to justify the war. But who does not know that in politics it is not intentions that count, but deeds, not good intentions, but facts, not the imaginary, but the real?

Let us assume that Turati did not want to justify the war and that Kautsky did not want to justify Germany's placing Turkey in the position of a vassal to German imperialism. But the *fact* remains that these two benign pacifists *did justify the war*! That is the point. Had Kautsky declared that "Constantinople must not go to Russia, Turkey must not be made a vassal state to anyone" not in a magazine which is so dull that nobody reads it, but in parliament, before a lively, impressionable bourgeois audience, full of southern temperament, it would not have been surprising if the witty bourgeois had exclaimed: "Excellent! Hear, hear! Long live Kautsky!"

Whether he intended to or not, deliberately or not, the fact is that Turati expressed the point of view of a bourgeois broker proposing a friendly deal between imperialist robbers. The "liberation" of Italian areas belonging to Austria would, *in fact*, be a concealed reward to the Italian bourgeoisie for participating in the imperialist war of a gigantic imperialist coalition. It would be a small sop thrown in, in addition to the share of the African colonies and spheres of influence in Dalmatia and Albania. It is natural, perhaps, for the reformist Turati to adopt the bourgeois standpoint; but Kautsky really differs in no way from Turati.

In order not to embellish the imperialist war and help the bourgeoisie falsely represent it as a national war, as a war for the liberation of nations, in order to avoid sliding into the position of bourgeois reformism, one must speak not in the language of Kautsky and Turati, but in the language of Karl Liebknecht: tell *one's own* bourgeoisie that they are hypocrites when they talk about national liberation, that

this war cannot result in a democratic peace unless the proletariat "turns its guns" against *its own* governments.

That is the only possible position of a genuine Marxist, of a genuine socialist and not a bourgeois reformist. Those who repeat the general, meaningless, non-committal, goody-goody desires of pacifism are not really working for a democratic peace. Only he is working for such a peace who exposes the imperialist nature of the present war and of the imperialist peace that is being prepared and calls upon the peoples to rise in revolt against the criminal governments.

At times some try to defend Kautsky and Turati by arguing that, legally, they could no more than "hint" at their opposition to the government, and that the pacifists of this stripe do make such "hints". The answer to that is, first, that the impossibility of legally speaking the truth is an argument not in favour of concealing the truth, but in favour of setting up an illegal organisation and press that would be free of police surveillance and censorship. Second, that moments occur in history when a socialist *is called upon* to break with all legality. Third, that even in the days of serfdom in Russia, Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky managed to speak the truth, for example, by their silence on the Manifesto of February 19, 1861,[88] and their ridicule and castigation of the liberals, who made exactly the same kind of speeches as Turati and Kautsky.

In the next article we shall deal with French pacifism, which found expression in the resolutions passed by the two recently held congresses of French labour and socialist organisations.

ARTICLE (OR CHAPTER) III

THE PACIFISM OF THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS AND SYNDICALISTS

The congresses of the French General Confederation of Labour (Confédération générale du Travail)[89] and of the French Socialist Party[90] have just been held. The true significance and true role of socialist pacifism at the present moment were quite definitely revealed at these congresses.

This is the resolution passed *unanimously* at the trade union congress. The majority of the ardent chauvinists headed by

the notorious Jouhaux, the anarchist Broutchoux and ... the "Zimmerwaldist" Merrheim all voted for it:

"This Conference of National Corporative Federations, trade unions and labour exchanges, having taken cognisance of the Note of the President of the United States which 'invites all nations now at war with each other to publicly expound their views as to the terms upon which the war might be brought to an end'—

"requests the French Government to agree to this proposal;

"invites the government to take the initiative in making a similar proposal to its allies in order to speed the hour of peace;

"declares that the federation of nations, which is one of the guarantees of a final peace, can be secured only given the independence, territorial inviolability and political and economic liberty of all nations, big and small.

"The organisations represented at this conference pledge themselves to support and spread this idea among the masses of the workers in order to put an end to the present indefinite and ambiguous situation, which can only benefit secret diplomacy, against which the working class has always protested."

There you have a sample of "pure" pacifism, entirely in the spirit of Kautsky, a pacifism approved by an official labour organisation which has nothing in common with Marxism and is composed chiefly of chauvinists. We have before us an outstanding document, deserving the most serious attention, of the *political unity* of the chauvinists and the "Kautskyites" on a platform of hollow pacifist phrases. In the preceding article we tried to explain the *theoretical* basis of the unity of ideas of the chauvinists and the pacifists, of the bourgeois and the socialist reformists. Now we see this unity achieved *in practice* in another imperialist country.

At the Zimmerwald Conference, September 5-8, 1915, Merrheim declared: "Le parti, les Jouhaux, le gouvernement, ce ne sont que trois têtes sous un bonnet" ("The party, the Jouhaux and the government are three heads under one bonnet", i.e., they are all one). At the C.G.T. Conference, on December 26, 1916, Merrheim voted *together with Jouhaux* for a pacifist resolution. On December 23, 1916, one of the frankest and most extreme organs of the German social-

imperialists, the Chemnitz *Volksstimme*, published a leading article entitled "The Disintegration of the Bourgeois Parties and the Restoration of Social-Democratic Unity". Needless to say, it praises peace-loving Südekum, Legien, Scheidemann and Co., the whole German Social-Democratic Party majority and, also, the peace-loving German Government. It proclaims: "The first party congress convened after the war must restore party unity, with the exception of the few fanatics who refuse to pay party dues [i.e., the adherents of Karl Liebknecht!]; ... Party unity based on the policy of the Party Executive, the Social-Democratic Reichstag group and the trade unions."

This is a supremely clear expression of the idea, and a supremely clear proclamation of the policy of "unity" between the avowed German social-chauvinists on the one hand and Kautsky and Co. and the Social-Democratic Labour Group on the other—unity on the basis of pacifist phrases—"unity" as achieved in France on December 26, 1916, between Jouhaux and Merrheim!

The Central Organ of the Socialist Party of Italy, *Avanti!*, writes in a leading article in its issue of December 28, 1916:

"Although Bissolati and Südekum, Bonomi and Scheidemann, Sembat and David, Jouhaux and Legien have deserted to the camp of bourgeois nationalism and have betrayed [*hanno tradito*] internationalist ideological unity, which they promised to serve faithfully and loyally, we shall stay together with our German comrades, men like Liebknecht, Ledebour, Hoffmann, Meyer, and with our French comrades, men like Merrheim, Blanc, Brizon, Raffin-Dugens, who have not changed and have not vacillated."

Note the confusion expressed in that statement:

Bissolati and Bonomi were *expelled* from the Socialist Party of Italy as reformists and chauvinists before the war. *Avanti!* puts them on the same level as Südekum, and Legien, and quite rightly, of course. But Südekum, David and Legien are at the head of the alleged Social-Democratic Party of Germany, which, in fact, is a social-chauvinist party, and yet this very *Avanti!* is opposed to their expulsion, opposed to a rupture with them, and opposed to the formation of a Third International. *Avanti!* quite correctly describes Legien and Jouhaux as deserters to the camp or

bourgeois nationalism and contrasts their conduct with that of Liebknecht, Ledebour, Merrheim and Brizon. But we have seen that Merrheim *votes on the same side as Jouhaux*, while Legien, in the Chemnitz *Volksstimme*, declares his confidence that party unity will be restored, with the *single* exception, however, of Liebknecht supporters, i.e., "unity" *with* the Social-Democratic Labour Group (including Kautsky) to which Ledebour belongs!!

This confusion arises from the fact that *Avanti!* confuses bourgeois pacifism with revolutionary Social-Democratic internationalism, while experienced politicians like Legien and Jouhaux understand perfectly well that socialist and bourgeois pacifism are *identical*.

Why, indeed, should not M. Jouhaux and his organ, the chauvinist *La Bataille*,[91] rejoice at the "unanimity" between Jouhaux and Merrheim when, *in fact*, the unanimously adopted resolution, which we have quoted in full above, contains nothing but bourgeois pacifist phrases; *not a shadow* of revolutionary consciousness, *not a single* socialist idea!

Is it not ridiculous to talk of the "economic liberty of all nations, big and small", and yet not say a word about the fact that, until the bourgeois governments are overthrown and the bourgeoisie expropriated, this talk of "economic liberty" is just as much a *deception* of the people as talk of the "economic liberty" of the individual *in general*, of the small peasants and rich, workers and capitalists, in modern society?

The resolution Jouhaux and Merrheim unanimously voted for is thoroughly imbued with the very ideas of "bourgeois nationalism" that Jouhaux expresses, as *Avanti!* quite rightly points out, while, strangely enough, *failing* to observe that Merrheim expresses the same ideas.

Bourgeois nationalists always and everywhere flaunt "general" phrases about a "federation of nations" *in general* and about "economic liberty of all nations, big and small". But socialists, unlike bourgeois nationalists, always said and now say: rhetoric about "economic liberty of all nations, big and small", is disgusting hypocrisy as long as *certain* nations (for example, England and France) invest abroad, that is to say, lend at usurious interest to small and backward nations, *billions of francs*, and as long as the small and weak nations are in bondage to them.

Socialists could not have allowed a *single sentence* of the resolution, for which Jouhaux and Merrheim unanimously voted, to pass without strong protest. In direct contrast to that resolution, socialists would have declared that Wilson's pronouncement is a downright lie and sheer hypocrisy, because Wilson represents a bourgeoisie which has made billions out of the war, because he is the head of a government that has frantically armed the United States obviously in preparation for a *second* great imperialist war. Socialists would have declared that the French bourgeois government is tied hand and foot by finance capital, whose slave it is, and by the secret, imperialist, thoroughly predatory and reactionary treaties with England, Russia, etc., and therefore cannot do or say anything except utter the same lies about a democratic and a "just" peace. Socialists would have declared that the struggle for such a peace cannot be waged by repeating general, vapid, benign, sentimental, meaningless and non-committal pacifist phrases, which merely serve to embellish the foulness of imperialism. It can be waged only by telling the people the *truth*, by telling the people that in order to obtain a democratic and just peace the bourgeois governments of all the belligerent countries must be overthrown, and that for this purpose advantage must be taken of the fact that millions of workers are armed and that the high cost of living and the horrors of the imperialist war have roused the anger of the masses.

This is what socialists should have said instead of what is said in the Jouhaux-Merrheim resolution.

The Congress of the French Socialist Party, which took place in Paris simultaneously with that of the C.G.T., not only refrained from saying this, but passed a resolution that is *even worse* than the one mentioned above. It was adopted by 2,838 votes against 109, with 20 abstentions, that is to say, by a bloc of the social-chauvinists (Renaudel and Co., the so-called "*majoritaires*") and the *Longuet-ists* (supporters of Longuet, the French Kautskyites)!! Moreover, the Zimmerwaldist Bourderon and the Kienthalian Raffin-Dugens voted for this resolution!!

We shall not quote the resolution—it is inordinately long and totally uninteresting: it contains benign, sentimental phrases about peace, *immediately followed* by declara-

tions of readiness to continue to support the so-called "national defence" of France, i.e., the imperialist war France is waging in alliance with bigger and more powerful robbers like England and Russia.

In France, unity of the social-chauvinists with pacifists (or Kautskyites) and a section of the Zimmerwaldists has become a fact, not only in the C.G.T., but also in the Socialist Party.

ARTICLE (OR CHAPTER) IV

ZIMMERWALD AT THE CROSSROADS

The French newspapers containing the report of the C.G.T. Congress were received in Berne on December 28, and on December 30, Berne and Zurich socialist newspapers published another manifesto by the Berne I.S.K. (Internationale Sozialistische Kommission), the International Socialist Committee, the executive body of Zimmerwald. Dated the end of December 1916, the manifesto refers to the peace proposals advanced by Germany and by Wilson and the other neutral countries, and all these governmental pronouncements are described, and quite rightly described, of course, as a "farcical game of peace", "a game to deceive their own peoples", "hypocritical pacifist diplomatic gesticulations".

As against this farce and falsehood the manifesto declares that the "only force" capable of bringing about peace, etc., is the "firm determination" of the international proletariat to "turn their weapons, not against their brothers, but against the enemy in their own country".

The passages we have quoted clearly reveal the two fundamentally distinct policies which have lived side by side, as it were, up to now in the Zimmerwald group, but which have now finally parted company.

On the one hand, Turati quite definitely and correctly states that the proposals made by Germany, Wilson, etc., were merely a "*paraphrase*" of Italian "socialist" pacifism; the declaration of the German social-chauvinists and the voting of the French have shown that both fully appreciate the value for *their* policy of the pacifist screen.

On the other hand, the International Socialist Committee manifesto describes the pacifism of all belligerent and neutral governments as a farce and hypocrisy.

On the one hand, Jouhaux joins with Merrheim; Bourderon, Longuet and Raffin-Dugens join with Renaudel, Sembat and Thomas, while the German social-chauvinists, Südekum, David and Scheidemann, announce the forthcoming "restoration of Social-Democratic Unity" with Kautsky and the Social-Democratic Labour Group.

On the other hand, the International Socialist Committee calls upon the "socialist minorities" vigorously to fight "their own governments" and "their social-patriot hirelings" (*Söldlinge*).

Either one thing, or the other.

Either expose the vapidity, stupidity and hypocrisy of bourgeois pacifism, *or* "paraphrase" it into "socialist" pacilism. Fight the Jouhaux, Renaudels, Legiens and Davids as the "hirelings" of the governments, *or* join with them in empty pacifist declamations on the French or German models.

That is now the dividing line between the Zimmerwald Right, which has always strenuously opposed a break with the social-chauvinists, and the Left, which at the Zimmerwald Conference had the foresight publicly to dissociate itself from the Right and to put forward, at the Conference and after it in the press, its own platform. It is no accident that the approach of peace, or even the intense discussion by certain bourgeois elements of the peace issue, has led to a very marked divergence between the two policies. To bourgeois pacifists and their "socialist" imitators, or echoers, peace has always been a fundamentally distinct concept, for neither has ever understood that "war is the continuation of the policies of peace and peace the continuation of the policies of war". Neither the bourgeois nor the social-chauvinist wants to see that the imperialist war of 1914-17 is the continuation of the imperialist policies of 1898-1914, if not of an even earlier period. Neither the bourgeois pacifists nor the socialist pacifists realise that without the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois governments, peace *now* can only be an imperialist peace, a continuation of the imperialist war.

In appraising the present war, they use meaningless, vulgar, philistine phrases about aggression or defence in general, and use the same philistine commonplaces in appraising the peace, disregarding the concrete historical situa-

tion, the actual concrete struggle between the imperialist powers. And it was quite natural for the social-chauvinists, these agents of the governments and the bourgeoisie in the workers' parties, to seize upon the approach of peace in particular, or even upon mere peace talk, in order to *gloss over* the depth of their reformism and opportunism, exposed by the war, and restore their undermined influence over the masses. Hence, the social-chauvinists in Germany and in France, as we have seen, are making strenuous efforts to "unite" with the flabby, unprincipled pacifist section of the "opposition".

Efforts to gloss over the divergence between the two irreconcilable lines of policy will certainly be made also in the Zimmerwald group. One can foresee that they will follow two lines. A "practical business" conciliation by mechanically combining loud revolutionary phrases (like those in the International Socialist Committee manifesto) with opportunist and pacifist practice. That is what happened in the Second International. The arch-revolutionary phrases in the manifestos of Huysmans and Vandervelde and in certain congress resolutions merely served as a screen for the arch-opportunist practice of the majority of the European parties, but they did not change, disrupt or combat this practice. It is doubtful whether these tactics will again be successful in the Zimmerwald group.

The "conciliators in principle" will try to falsify Marxism by arguing, for example, that reform does not exclude revolution, that an imperialist peace with certain "improvements" in nationality frontiers, or in international law, or in armaments expenditure, etc., is possible side by side with the revolutionary movement, as "one of the aspects of the development" of that movement, and so on and so forth.

This would be a falsification of Marxism. Reforms do not, of course, exclude revolution. But that is not the point at issue. The point is that revolutionaries must not exclude *themselves*, not give way to reformism, i.e., that socialists should not substitute reformist work for their revolutionary work. Europe is experiencing a revolutionary situation. The war and the high cost of living are aggravating the situation. The transition from war to peace will not necessarily eliminate the revolutionary situation, for there are no grounds

whatever for believing that the millions of workers who now have excellent weapons in their hands will necessarily permit themselves to be "peacefully disarmed" by the bourgeoisie instead of following the advice of Karl Liebknecht, i.e., turning their weapons against *their own* bourgeoisie.

The question is not, as the pacifist Kautskyites maintain: either a reformist political campaign, or else the renunciation of reforms. That is a bourgeois presentation of the question. The question is: either revolutionary struggle, the by-product of which, in the event of its not being fully successful, is reforms (the whole history of revolutions throughout the world has proved this), or nothing but talk about reforms and the promise of reforms.

The reformism of Kautsky, Turati and Bourderon, which now comes out in the form of pacifism, not only leaves aside the question of revolution (this *in itself* is a betrayal of socialism), not only abandons in practice all systematic and persistent revolutionary work, but even goes to the length of declaring that street demonstrations are adventurism (Kautsky in *Die Neue Zeit*, November 26, 1915). It goes to the length of advocating and implementing unity with the outspoken and determined opponents of revolutionary struggle, the Südekums, Legiens, Renaudels, Thomases, etc., etc.

This reformism is absolutely irreconcilable with revolutionary Marxism, the duty of which is to take the utmost possible advantage of the present revolutionary situation in Europe in order openly to urge revolution, the overthrow of the bourgeois governments, the conquest of power by the armed proletariat, while at the same time not renouncing, and not refusing to utilise, reforms in developing the revolutionary struggle and in the course of that struggle.

The immediate future will show what course events in Europe will follow, particularly the struggle between reformist pacifism and revolutionary Marxism, including the struggle between the two Zimmerwald sections.

Zurich, January 1, 1917

AN OPEN LETTER TO BORIS SOUVARINE[92]

Citizen Souvarine says his letter is addressed also to me. I take all the greater pleasure in replying, since his article touches on vital problems of international socialism.

Souvarine believes that those who consider "defence of the fatherland" to be incompatible with socialism are taking an "unpatriotic" view. As for himself, he "defends" the view of Turati, Ledebour, Brizon who, while voting against war credits, declare that they accept "defence of the fatherland"; in other words, he defends the trend known as the "Centre" (the "marsh", I would say), or as Kautskyism—after its chief theoretical and literary exponent, Karl Kautsky. I might remark, in passing, that Souvarine is wrong in maintaining that "they [i.e., the Russian comrades who speak of the collapse of the Second International] equate men like Kautsky, Longuet, etc... with nationalists of the Scheidemann and Renaudel type". Neither I nor the Party to which I belong (the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee) have ever equated the social-chauvinist viewpoint with that of the "Centre". In our official Party statements, in the Central Committee manifesto published November 1, 1914*, and in the resolutions adopted in March 1915** (both documents are reproduced *in extenso* in our pamphlet *Socialism and War*,*** which is known to Souvarine), we have always drawn a dividing line between the social-chauvinists and the "Centre". The former, in our opinion, have defected to the bourgeoisie. With regard to them we demand not merely struggle, but a split. The latter hesitate, vacillate, and their efforts to unite the socialist

* See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 25-34.—*Ed.*
** See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 158-64.—*Ed.*
*** See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 295-338.—*Ed.*

masses with the chauvinist leaders cause the greatest damage to the proletariat.

Souvarine says he wants to "examine the facts from a Marxist viewpoint".

But from a Marxist viewpoint, such general and abstract definitions as "unpatriotic" are of absolutely no value. The fatherland, the nation are historical categories. I am not at all opposed to wars waged in defence of democracy or against national oppression, nor do I fear such words as "defence of the fatherland" in reference to these wars or to insurrections. Socialists always side with the oppressed and, consequently, cannot be opposed to wars whose purpose is democratic or socialist struggle against oppression. It would therefore be absurd to deny the legitimacy of the wars of 1793, of France's wars against the reactionary European monarchies, or of the Garibaldi wars, etc.... And it would be just as absurd not to recognise the legitimacy of wars of oppressed nations against their oppressors, wars that might break out today—rebellion of the Irish against England, for instance, rebellion of Morocco against France, or the Ukraine against Russia, etc....

The Marxist viewpoint requires that in each individual case we define the political content of the war.

But what determines the political content of a war?

Every war is only the continuation of policy. What kind of policy is being continued in the present war? The policy of the proletariat, which from 1871 to 1914 was the sole exponent of socialism and democracy in France, England and Germany? Or imperialist policy, the policy of colonial rapine and oppression of weak nations by the reactionary, decadent and moribund bourgeoisie?

The question has only to be squarely put and we get a perfectly clear answer: the present war is an imperialist war. It is a war of slave-owners quarrelling over their chattels and eager to consolidate and perpetuate slavery. It is the "capitalist brigandage" of which Jules Guesde spoke in 1899, thereby condemning in advance his own betrayal. Guesde said at the time:

"There are other wars ... they arise every day, wars for the acquisition of markets. This kind of war does not disappear, but, on the contrary, bids fair to become continuous. It is chiefly a war between the

capitalists of all countries for profits and possession of the world market, and it is fought at the price of our blood. Now, just imagine that in each of the capitalist countries of Europe, this mutual slaughter for the sake of plunder is directed by a socialist! Just imagine an English Millerand, an Italian Millerand a German Millerand, in addition to a French Millerand, working to embroil the proletarians in this capitalist brigandage and make them fight each other! What would remain, I ask you, comrades, of international solidarity? On the day the Millerands became a common phenomenon, we would have to say 'farewell' to all internationalism and become nationalists, and this neither you nor I will ever agree to (Jules Guesde, *En Garde!*, Paris, 1911, pp. 175-76).

It is not true that France is waging this 1914-17 war for freedom, national independence, democracy, and so on.... She is fighting to retain her colonies, and for England to retain hers, colonies to which Germany would have had a much greater right—from the standpoint of bourgeois law, of course. She is fighting to give Russia Constantinople, etc.... Consequently, this war is being waged not by democratic and revolutionary France, not by the France of 1792, nor the France of 1848, nor the France of the Commune. It is being waged by bourgeois France, reactionary France, that ally and friend of tsarism, the "world usurer" (the expression is not mine, it belongs to Lysis, a contributor to *l'Humanité*[93]), who is defending his booty, his "sacred right" to possess colonies, his "freedom" to exploit the entire world with the help of the millions loaned to weaker or poorer nations.

Do not tell me it is hard to distinguish between revolutionary and reactionary wars. You want me to indicate a purely practical criterion that would be understood by all, in addition to the scientific criterion indicated above?

Here it is: Every fair-sized war is prepared beforehand. When a revolutionary war is being prepared, democrats and socialists *are not afraid to state in advance* that they favour "defence of the fatherland" in this war. When however, in contrast, a reactionary war is being prepared, no socialist will *venture to state in advance*, that is, before war is declared, meaning that he will favour "defence of the fatherland".

Marx and Engels were not afraid to urge the German people to fight Russia in 1848 and 1859.

In contrast, at their Basle Congress in 1912 the socialists

did not venture to speak of "defence of the fatherland" in the war they could see was maturing and which broke out in 1914.

Our Party is not afraid to declare publicly that it will sympathise with wars or uprisings which Ireland might start against England; Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia against France; Tripoli against Italy; the Ukraine, Persia, China against Russia, etc.

But what of the social-chauvinists? And the "Centrists"? Will they have the courage openly and officially to state that they favour, or will favour, "defence of the fatherland" in the event of war breaking out between, say, Japan and the United States, a clearly imperialist war prepared over the course of many years, and one which would imperil many hundreds of millions of people? I dare them! I am prepared to wager that they will not, for they know only too well that if they make such a statement, they will become a laughing-stock in the eyes of the workers, they will be jeered at and driven out of the socialist parties. That is why the social-chauvinists and those in the "Centre" will avoid any open statement and will continue to wriggle, lie and confuse the issue, seeking refuge in all manner of sophisms, like this one in the resolution of the last, 1915 French party congress: "An attacked country has the right to defence."

As if the question were: *Who was the first to attack*, and not: *What are the causes of the war? What are its aims? Which classes are waging it?* Could one imagine, for example, a sane-minded socialist recognising England's right to "defence of the fatherland" in 1796, when the French revolutionary troops began to fraternise with the Irish? And yet it was the French who had attacked England and were actually preparing to land in Ireland. And could we, tomorrow, recognise the right to "defence of the fatherland" for Russia and England, if, after they had been taught a lesson by Germany, they were attacked by Persia in alliance with India, China and other revolutionary nations of Asia performing their 1789 and 1793?

That is my reply to the really ludicrous charge that we share Tolstoy's views. Our Party has rejected both the Tolstoy doctrine and pacifism, declaring that socialists must seek to transform the present war into a civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, for socialism.

Should you object that this is utopian, I will answer that the bourgeoisie of France, England, etc., do not, apparently, subscribe to that opinion. They would not play so vile and ridiculous a role, going to the length of jailing or conscripting "pacifists", had they not felt and foreseen the inevitable and steady rise of revolution and its early approach.

This leads me to the question of a split, raised also by Souvarine. A split! That is the bogy with which the socialist leaders are trying to frighten others, and which they themselves fear so much! "What useful purpose could *now* be served by the foundation of a new International?"—Souvarine asks. "Its activity would be blighted by sterility, for numerically it would be very weak."

But the day-to-day facts show that, *precisely because they are afraid of a split*, the "activity" of Pressemane and Longuet in France, Kautsky and Ledebour in Germany, is blighted by sterility! And precisely because Karl Liebknecht and Otto Rühle in Germany were not afraid of a split, openly declaring that a split was *necessary* (cf. Rühle's letter in *Vorwärts*, January 12, 1916), and did not hesitate to carry it out—their activity is of vast importance for the proletariat, *despite their numerical weakness*. Liebknecht and Rühle are only two against 108. But these two represent millions, the exploited mass, the overwhelming majority of the population, the future of mankind, the revolution that is mounting and maturing with every passing day. The 108, on the other hand, represent only the servile spirit of a handful of bourgeois flunkies within the proletariat. Brizon's activities, when he shares the weaknesses of the Centre or the marsh, are blighted by sterility. And, conversely, they cease to be sterile, help to awaken, organise and stimulate the proletariat, when Brizon really demolishes "unity", when he courageously proclaims in parliament "Down with the war!", or when he publicly speaks the truth, declaring that the Allies are fighting to give Russia Constantinople.

The genuine revolutionary internationalists are numerically weak? Nonsense! Take France in 1780, or Russia in 1900. The politically-conscious and determined revolutionaries, who in France represented the bourgeoisie—the revolutionary class of that era—and in Russia today's revolutionary class—the proletariat, were extremely weak

numerically. They were only a few, comprising at the most only 1/10,000, or even 1/100,000, of their class. Several years later, however, these few, this allegedly negligible minority, led the masses, millions and tens of millions of people. Why? Because this minority really represented the interests of these masses, because it believed in the coming revolution, because it was prepared to serve it with supreme devotion.

Numerical weakness? But since when have revolutionaries made their policies dependent on whether they are in a majority or minority? In November 1914, when our Party called for a split with the opportunists,* declaring that the split was the only correct and fitting reply to their betrayal in August 1914, to many that seemed to be a piece of insensate sectarianism coming from men who had completely lost all contact with real life. Two years have passed, and what is happening? In England, the split is an accomplished fact. The social-chauvinist Hyndman has been forced to leave the party. In Germany, a split is developing before everyone's eyes. The Berlin, Bremen and Stuttgart organisations have even been accorded the honour of being expelled from the party ... from the party of the Kaiser's lackeys, the party of the German Renaudels, Sembats, Thomases, Guesdes and Co. And in France? On the one hand, the party of these gentlemen states that it remains true to "fatherland defence". On the other, the Zimmerwaldists state, in their pamphlet *The Zimmerwald Socialists and the War*, that "defence of the fatherland" is unsocialist. Isn't this a split?

And how can men who, after two years of this greatest world crisis, give diametrically opposite answers to the supreme question of modern proletarian tactics, work faithfully side by side, within one and the same party?

Look at America—apart from everything else a neutral country. Haven't we the beginnings of a split there, too: Eugene. Debs, the "American Bebel", declares in the socialist press that he recognises only one type of war, civil war for the victory of socialism, and that he would sooner be shot than vote a single cent for American war expenditure (see *Appeal to Reason*[94] No. 1032, September 11, 1915). On the

* See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 25-34.—*Ed.*

other hand, the American Renaudels and Sembats advocate "national defence" and "preparedness". The American Longuets and Pressemanes—the poor souls!— are trying to bring about a reconciliation between social-chauvinists and revolutionary internationalists.

Two Internationals already exist. One is the International of Sembat-Südekum-Hyndman-Plekhanov and Co. The other is the International of Karl Liebknecht, MacLean (the Scottish school-master whom the English bourgeoisie sentenced to hard labour for supporting the workers' class struggle), Höglund (the Swedish M. P. and one of the founders of the Zimmerwald Left sentenced to hard labour for his revolutionary propaganda against the war), the five Duma members exiled to Siberia for life for their propaganda against the war, etc. On the one hand, there is the International of those *who are helping their own governments wage the imperialist war*, and on the other, the International of those *who are waging a revolutionary fight against the imperialist war*. Neither parliamentary eloquence nor the "diplomacy" of socialist "statesmen" can unite these two Internationals. The Second International has outlived itself. The Third International has already been born. And if it has not yet been baptised by the high priests and Popes of the Second International but, on the contrary, has been anathemised (see Vandervelde's and Stauning's speeches), this is not preventing it from gaining strength with every passing day. The Third International will enable the proletariat to rid itself of opportunists and will lead the masses to victory in the maturing and approaching social revolution.

Before concluding, I would like to say a few words in reply to Souvarine's personal polemics. He asks (the socialists now residing in Switzerland) to moderate their personal criticism of Bernstein, Kautsky, Longuet, etc.... For my part, I must say that I cannot accept that. And I would point out to Souvarine, first of all, that my criticism of the "Centre" is political, not personal. Nothing can restore the mass influence of the Südekums, Plekhanovs, etc.: their authority has been so undermined that everywhere the police have to protect them. But by their propaganda of "unity" and "fatherland defence", by their striving to bring about a compromise, by their efforts to draw a verbal veil over

the deep-seated differences, the "Centrists" are causing the greatest damage to the labour movement, because they are impeding the final break-down of the social-chauvinists' moral authority, and in that way are bolstering their influence on the masses and galvanising the corpse of the opportunist Second International. For all these reasons I consider it my socialist duty to fight Kautsky and other "Centre" spokesmen.

Souvarine "appeals", among others, to "Guilbeaux, to Lenin, to all those who enjoy the advantage of being 'outside the battle', an advantage that often enables one to take a reasonable view of men and affairs in socialism, but one that, perhaps, is fraught also with certain inconveniences."

A transparent hint. In Zimmerwald, Ledebour expressed the same thought without any ambiguity. He accused us "Left Zimmerwaldists" of addressing revolutionary appeals to the masses from abroad. I repeat to Citizen Souvarine what I told Ledebour in Zimmerwald. It is 29 years since I was arrested in Russia. And throughout these 29 years I have never ceased to address revolutionary appeals to the masses. I did so from prison, from Siberia, and later from abroad. And I frequently met in the revolutionary press "hints" similar to those made in the speeches of tsarist prosecutors—"hints" that I was lacking in honesty, because, while living abroad, I addressed revolutionary appeals to the Russian people. Coming from tsarist prosecutors these "hints" surprise no one. But I must admit that I expected arguments of another kind from Ledebour. Apparently he has forgotten that when they wrote their famous *Communist Manifesto* in 1847, Marx and Engels likewise addressed revolutionary appeals to the German workers from abroad! The revolutionary struggle is often impossible without revolutionaries emigrating abroad. That has repeatedly been the experience in France. And I Citizen Souvarine would have done better not to follow the bad example of Ledebour and ... the tsarist prosecutors.

Souvarine also says that Trotsky, "whom we [the French minority] consider one of the most extreme elements of the extreme Left in the International, is simply branded as a chauvinist by Lenin. It has to be admitted that there is a certain exaggeration here".

Yes, of course, "there is a certain exaggeration", but on Souvarine's part, not mine. For I have never branded Trotsky's position as chauvinistic. What I have reproached him with is that all too often he has represented the "Centre" policy in Russia. Here are the facts. The split in the R.S.D.L.P. has existed officially since January 1912.[95] Our Party (grouped around the Central Committee) accused of opportunism the other group, the Organising Committee, of which Martov and Axelrod are the most prominent leaders. Trotsky belonged to Martov's party and left it only in 1914. By that time the war had started. Our five Duma deputies (Muranov, Petrovsky, Shagov, Badayev and Samoilov) were exiled to Siberia. In Petrograd, our workers voted *against* participation in the war industries committees (the most important practical issue for us, just as important in Russia as the question of participation in the government in France). On the other hand, the most prominent and most influential Organising Committee writers—Potresov, Zasulich, Levitsky and others—have come out for "defence of the fatherland" and participation in the war industries committees. Martov and Axelrod have protested and advocated non-participation in the committees. But they have not broken with their party, one faction of which has turned chauvinist and accepts participation. That is why at Kienthal we reproached Martov with having wanted to represent the Organising Committee as a whole, whereas in fact he can represent only one of its two factions. This party's Duma group (Chkheidze, Skobelev and others) is divided, with some of its members for and others against "fatherland defence". But all of them favour participation in the war industries committees, resorting to the ambiguous formula of "saving the country", which, essentially, is but another wording of the Südekum and Renaudel "fatherland defence" slogan. More, they have in no way protested against Potresov's position (which is actually identical to Plekhanov's; Martov publicly protested against Potresov and declined to contribute to his journal because Plekhanov had been invited to contribute).

And Trotsky? Having broken with Martov's party, he continues to accuse us of being splitters. Little by little he is moving to the Left, and even calls for a break with

the Russian social-chauvinist leaders. But he has not definitely said whether he wants unity or a break with the Chkheidze faction. And that is one of the key issues. For, indeed, if peace comes tomorrow, we shall be having Duma elections the day after tomorrow, and the question will immediately arise of siding with or opposing Chkheidze. We oppose such an alliance. Martov favours it. And Trotsky? His attitude is unknown. There has been no definite indication of it in the 500 issues of the Paris Russian-language newspaper *Nashe Slovo*, of which Trotsky is one of the editors. These are the reasons why we do not agree with Trotsky.

We are not the only ones. In Zimmerwald, Trotsky refused to join the Zimmerwald Left. Together with Comrade Henriette Roland-Holst he represented the "Centre". And this is what Comrade Roland-Holst now writes in the Dutch socialist paper *Tribune*[96] (No. 159, August 23, 1916): "Those who, like Trotsky and his group, want to wage a revolutionary struggle against imperialism must overcome the consequences of émigré differences—largely of a personal nature—which disunite the extreme Left, and join the Leninists. A 'revolutionary centre' is impossible."

I must apologise for having dwelt at such length on our relations with Trotsky and Martov, but the French socialist press refers to this quite frequently and the information it gives its readers is often very inaccurate. The French comrades must be better informed of the facts concerning the Social-Democratic movement in Russia.

Lenin

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THESES FOR AN APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST COMMITTEE AND ALL SOCIALIST PARTIES[97]

ROUGH DRAFT

1. The turn in world politics, from imperialist war to open appeals by a number of bourgeois governments for an imperialist peace, coincides with a turn in the development of world socialism.

2. The first turn has produced a spate of pious and sentimental pacifist phrases, promises and pledges, with which the imperialist bourgeoisie and the imperialist governments seek to deceive the peoples and "peacefully" condition them to obediently bear the whole cost of the predatory war, peacefully disarm the millions of proletarians and cover up, by paltry concessions, the preparation for a deal to divide up the colonies and financially (also politically if possible) strangle weak nations. This deal comprises the sum and substance of the projected imperialist peace and is a direct continuation of the existing secret predatory agreements, particularly those concluded during the war, between *all* the powers of *both* warring imperialist coalitions.

3.* The second turn consists in a "reconciliation" between the social-chauvinists, who have betrayed socialism and defected to bourgeois nationalism or imperialism, and the *Zimmerwald Right wing*, as represented by Kautsky and Co. in Germany, Turati and Co. in Italy, Longuet-Pressemane-Merrheim in France, etc. By uniting on a basis of empty, meaningless and non-committal pacifist phrases,

* Combine with §4.

which in practice serve to *disguise* imperialist policy and imperialist peace, *embellish* them instead of exposing them, these two trends are taking a decisive step towards the greatest deception of the workers, towards consolidating the domination in the labour movement of a bourgeois labour policy veiled by socialist phraseology, the domination of leaders and privileged sections of the working class that have helped the governments and the bourgeoisie wage this predatory imperialist war on the plea of "defending the fatherland".

4. Social-pacifist policy, or the policy of social-pacifist phraseology, now predominates in the socialist parties of the chief European countries (see Kautsky's five pacifist articles in the German Social-Democratic press and, appearing at the same time, the statement of the social-imperialist leaders in the Chemnitz *Volksstimme* that they are fully prepared for peace and unity with the Kautskyites on a basis of pacifist phrases; the January 7, 1917 pacifist manifesto of the German Kautskyite opposition; the Longuetists and Renaudel and Co. voting together at the French Socialist Party Congress, and Jouhaux and Merrheim, also Broutchoux, at the General Confederation of Labour Congress, *for* resolutions composed of misleading pacifist phrases; a similar pacifist statement by Turati on December 17, 1916, and the defence of his position by the entire Socialist Party of Italy). *Whatever the terms* of the peace now being prepared between the present, i.e., *bourgeois*, governments of *both* imperialist coalitions, this policy signifies the conversion of socialist and syndicalist (Jouhaux and Merrheim) organisations into a *tool* of government intrigue and secret imperialist diplomacy.

5. The possible terms of the peace now being prepared by the bourgeois governments of both imperialist coalitions are in reality determined by the *altered* balance of *forces* which the war has already produced and might still produce. In their basic and principal features the changes are as follows: (a) the German imperialist coalition has up to now proved much stronger than its adversary. The territories occupied by German and German-allied forces are its *guarantee* in a new imperialist division of the world colonies, weak countries, finance capital's spheres of

influence, etc.), which will merely be formalised by the peace treaty; (b) the British imperialist coalition hopes to improve its military position in the spring; but (c) the exhaustion caused by the war and, *chiefly*, the fact that it is hard for the financial oligarchy to rob the peoples *still more* than it has already done through unparalleled "war profits", is giving rise, in connection with the fear of proletarian revolution, to attempts by some bourgeois circles to end the war as soon as possible through a deal between the two groups of imperialist freebooters; (d) there is a noticeable shift in world politics from the Anglo-Russian coalition against Germany towards a coalition (just as imperialist in nature) of Germany and Russia against England. The basis for this is that tsarism has not the strength to seize Constantinople, promised it in the secret treaties with France, England, Italy, etc., and is therefore seeking compensation in a division of Galicia, Armenia and, possibly, Rumania, etc., and also in an alliance with Germany against England for the plunder of Asia; (e) another major change in world politics is the tremendous enrichment, at Europe's expense, of United States finance capital, which has latterly increased its armaments (just like Japanese imperialism, which is much weaker) to unprecedented proportions, and which would be only too glad to divert the attention of "its" workers from these armaments by cheap pacifist phraseology ... *relating* to *Europe*!

6. Out of fear of proletarian revolution, the bourgeoisie finds itself compelled in every possible way to conceal and embellish this objective political situation, this imperialist reality. It is trying to dupe the workers, divert their attention, and the best means to that end is the customary diplomatic duplicity of non-committal, hypocritical phrases about a "democratic" peace, freedom for small nations "in general", "armaments restriction", etc. This duping of the people comes all the easier to the imperialist bourgeoisie because, when it speaks of, say, "peace without annexations" *every* bourgeoisie has in view annexations by its *adversary*, and is "modestly reticent" about annexations it *itself* has *already* made. The Germans "forget" that they have *factually* annexed not only Constantinople, Belgrade, Bucharest, Brussels, but also Alsace-Lorraine, part of

Schleswig, Prussian Poland, etc. Tsarism and its flunkeys, the Russian imperialist bourgeois (Plekhanov, Potresov and their ilk included, i.e., the majority of the Organising Committee party in Russia), "forget" that Russia has annexed not only Erserum and part of Galicia, but also Finland, the Ukraine, etc. The French bourgeoisie "forgets" that, together with the English, it has robbed Germany of her colonies. The Italian bourgeoisie "forgets" that it is robbing Tripoli, Dalmatia, Albania, and so on without end.

7. That being the objective state of affairs, it is the obvious and imperative task of every sincere socialist policy, every honest proletarian policy (not to speak of conscious Marxist policy) first of all and above all consistently, systematically, boldly and unreservedly to *expose the pacifist and democratic hypocrisy of one's own government and one's own bourgeoisie*. Lacking that, all talk of socialism, syndicalism, internationalism is a sheer deception of the people. For exposure of annexations by one's imperialist rivals (regardless of whether they are named or merely implied, by denouncing annexations "generally" or by similar "diplomatic" methods of concealing one's thoughts) is the direct concern, the direct business, of *all* venal journalists, all imperialists, including those that parade as socialists, such as Scheidemann and Co., Sembat and Co., Plekhanov and Co., etc.

8. Turati and Co., Kautsky and Co., Longuet and Merrheim and Co. utterly fail to understand that this is their direct duty. They represent a definite trend in international socialism and, *objectively*, *in practice*—regardless of how supremely virtuous their intentions may be—are simply helping their "own" imperialist bourgeoisie to *dupe* the people, *embellish* its imperialist aims. These social-pacifists, i.e., socialists in words and vehicles of bourgeois-pacifist hypocrisy in deeds, now play exactly the same part as the Christian priests, who for centuries sought to embellish the policy of the oppressing classes—the slave-owners, feudals and capitalists—and make their rule *acceptable* to the oppressed classes by preaching Christian love of one's neighbour and Christ's commandments.

9. A policy designed not to mislead the workers, but to open their eyes to reality, should consist in the following:

(a) Socialists in every country must now, when the question of peace is so directly posed, unfailingly and more vigorously than usual expose their *own* government and their *own* bourgeoisie. They must expose the secret agreements *they* have concluded, and are concluding, with *their* imperialist allies for the division of colonies, spheres of influence, joint financial undertakings in other countries, buying up of shares, monopoly arrangements, concessions, etc.

For in this, and in this *alone*, lies the real, not deceptive, *basis* and substance of the imperialist peace now being prepared. Everything else is meant to deceive the people. Those who vow and swear by these catchwords are not really supporting a democratic peace without annexations, etc., for *real* support means exposing, *in practice*, one's *own* bourgeoisie, which by its *actions* is destroying these great principles of true socialism and true democracy.

For every member of parliament, every editor, every secretary of a labour union, every journalist and public leader *can always* gather the information kept secret by the government and the financiers that reveals the *truth* about the real basis of imperialist deals. A socialist's *failure* to fulfil this duty is a *betrayal* of socialism. There need be no doubt that *no* government will allow, especially now, free publication of exposures of its real policy, its treaties, financial deals, etc. That is no reason to renounce such exposures. Rather it is a reason to renounce servile submission to the censorship and publish the facts freely, i.e., uncensored, illegally.

For the Socialist of *another* country cannot expose the government and bourgeoisie of a country at war with "his own" nation, and not only because he does not know that country's language, history, specific features, etc., but also because *such* exposure is part of *imperialist* intrigue, and not an *internationalist* duty.

He is not an internationalist who vows and swears by internationalism. Only he is an internationalist who in a really internationalist way combats his *own* bourgeoisie, his *own* social-chauvinists, his *own* Kautskyites.

(b) In every country the Socialist must above all emphasise in all his propaganda the need to distrust not only every political phrase of his *own* government, but also every

political phrase of his *own* social-chauvinists, who *in reality* serve that government.

(c) In every country the Socialists must above all explain to the masses the indisputable truth that a genuinely enduring and genuinely democratic peace (without annexations, etc.) can now be achieved *only* if it is concluded *not* by the present bourgeois governments, or by *bourgeois* governments in general, but by *proletarian* governments that have overthrown the rule of the bourgeoisie and are proceeding to expropriate it.

The war has reaffirmed clearly enough and in a very practical way a truth which prior to the war was repeated by all the socialist leaders who have now gone over to the bourgeoisie, namely, that modern capitalist society, particularly* in the advanced countries, has fully matured for the transition to socialism. If, for instance, Germany can direct the economic life of 66 million people *from a single centre*, and strain the people's energies to wage a predatory war in the interests of 100 or 200 financial magnates or aristocrats, the monarchy, etc., then the *same* can be done, in the interests of nine-tenths of the population, by the non-propertied masses if their struggle is directed by class-conscious workers, liberated from social-imperialist and social-pacifist influence.

All propaganda for socialism must be refashioned from abstract and general to concrete and directly practical: expropriate the banks and, relying on the masses, carry out in their interests the *very same thing* the W.U.M.B.A.** is carrying out in Germany!

(d) In every country the socialist must explain to the masses the indisputable truth that, if the phrase "democratic peace" is to be taken seriously, sincerely and honestly, and not merely used as a false *Christian* phrase meant to conceal an *imperialist* peace, then the workers have *only* one means of really achieving such a peace *right now*. That means is to *turn their weapons against their own government* (i.e., follow the advice of Karl Liebknecht, for which he has been

* In the manuscript, the words "at any rate" are written over the word "particularly".—*Ed.*

** Waffen- und Munitionsbeschaffungsamt—Weapons and Ammunition Supply Department.—*Ed.*

sentenced to hard labour. He urged, in other words, what our Party manifesto of November 1, 1914* defined as turning the imperialist war into a civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and for socialism).

The Basle Manifesto of November 24, 1912, signed by *all* the socialist parties, had in view the *very war that is now raging*. And when it threatened the governments with "*proletarian revolution*" in connection with the imminent war, when it referred to the Paris Commune, it spoke the truth, a truth from which the betrayers of socialism are now cowardly retreating. For if in 1871 the Paris workers could utilise the excellent weapons given them by Napoleon III in pursuance of his ambitious plans, to make their heroic attempt, admired by socialists the world over, to overthrow bourgeois rule and capture power for the introduction of socialism—then a similar attempt is a thousand times more achievable, possible and likely to succeed now, when a much larger number of better organised and more class-conscious workers of several countries are in possession of much better weapons, and when with every passing day the course of the war is enlightening and revolutionising the masses. In all countries the chief obstacle to initiating systematic propaganda and agitation in this spirit is definitely not the "fatigue of the masses", as the Scheidemanns plus Kautsky, etc., falsely plead. The "masses" are not yet tired of shooting and will continue to shoot even more in the spring, unless their class enemies come to some arrangement about dividing up Turkey, Rumania, Armenia, Africa, etc. The chief obstacle is the *faith* part of the class-conscious workers have in the social-imperialists and social-pacifists. Today's major task must be to destroy the faith in these trends, *ideas*, methods of *policy*.

To what extent such an attempt is feasible, from the standpoint of the *sentiment* of the broad masses, can only be *proved* by launching this type of agitation and propaganda everywhere and in the most resolute and energetic way; by giving the most sincere and devoted support to all revolutionary manifestations of the mounting mass resentment, to the strikes and demonstrations that are forcing the Russian

* See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 25-34.—*Ed.*

bourgeoisie frankly to admit that the revolution is on the march, and have forced Helfferich to declare in the Reichstag: "Better to keep the Left Social-Democrats in prison than to have Potsdam Square littered with corpses," i.e., to admit that the masses *are* responding to agitation by the Left.

In any case, the alternative which socialists must clearly place before the masses is this: either continue to kill each other for capitalist profits, put up with the high cost of living, hunger, the burden of a debt running into billions, and accept the farce of an imperialist *truce* veiled by democratic and reformist promises, or rise in revolt against the bourgeoisie.

A revolutionary party which openly, before the whole world, threatened the governments with "proletarian revolution" in the event of *such* a war as is now being waged, would be committing moral suicide if it did not urge the workers, and the masses generally, to direct all thought and effort towards revolt, now that the masses are so excellently armed, so excellently trained in the art of warfare, and fed up with the absurdity of this criminal imperialist shambles, which up to now they have been helping.

(e) Socialists must centre their activity on the struggle against reformism, which has always corrupted the revolutionary labour movement by injecting bourgeois ideas, and has now assumed a somewhat special form, namely: "reliance" on the reforms the bourgeoisie is supposed to carry out after the war! Reformists argue that in urging, popularising and preparing the socialist revolution of the proletariat, we are "losing sight" of the "practical" aspect, "forfeiting" our chances to win reforms.

That argument, customary both to social-chauvinists and supporters of Kautsky, who has even denounced street demonstrations as "adventuristic", is thoroughly unscientific, fundamentally false, a bourgeois lie.

In the course of the war world capitalism has taken a forward step not only towards concentration in general, but also towards transition from monopoly in general to *state capitalism* on a much broader scale than before. Economic reforms in this direction are inevitable.

In the political sphere, the imperialist war has demon-

strated that from the imperialists' standpoint it is *sometimes* much more advantageous to have as war ally a politically independent but financially dependent small nation rather than risk Irish or Czech "incidents" (i.e., uprisings or the defection of whole regiments) during a war. It is quite possible, therefore, that parallel with its policy of strangling small nations—a policy it can never wholly abandon—imperialism will in individual cases follow a policy of "voluntary" alliance (i.e., resulting exclusively from financial strangulation) with new small national states, or with mongrel states, such as Poland.

However, it does not follow from this that Social-Democrats can, without betraying their cause, "vote" for or support such imperialist "reforms".

Only bourgeois reformism, which *in substance* is the position of Kautsky, Turati and Merrheim, poses the question thus: *either* renunciation of revolution and that means reforms, *or* no reforms at all.

Yet all the experience of world history, like the experience of the 1905 Russian Revolution, teaches us the very opposite: *either* revolutionary class struggle, of which reforms are *always* a by-product (when the revolution is not completely successful), *or* no reforms at all.

For the *only effective* force that compels change is popular revolutionary energy, providing it does not remain on paper, as has been the case in the Second International, but finds expression in comprehensive mass revolutionary propaganda, agitation and organisation conducted by parties marching at the head of the revolution, not limping along in its tail.

Only by openly proclaiming revolution, by purging the workers' parties of all who oppose revolution or "sceptically" accept it—only by giving *every* aspect of party activity a revolutionary content, can Social-Democracy, in such "*critical*" eras of world history as the present one, guarantee the masses either complete success of their cause if the revolution is supported by very broad masses, or reforms, i.e., concessions by the bourgeoisie, if the revolution is only partially successful.

Otherwise, if the Scheidemann and Kautsky policy prevails, there is *no* guarantee that the reforms will not be

reduced to naught, or carried out with police and reactionary restrictions that will *rule out* the very possibility of the proletariat using them in a repeated fight for the revolution.

(f) Socialists must make a serious effort to bring to reality Karl Liebknecht's slogan. The popularity that name enjoys among the masses is a *guarantee* that revolutionary activity is both possible and likely to succeed. The attitude of Scheidemann and Co., Kautsky and Co. towards that name is an example of hypocrisy: *in words* they swear by the "Liebknechts of all countries"; *in deeds* they combat Liebknecht's tactics.

Liebknecht broke not only with the Scheidemanns (Renaudels, Plekhanovs, Bissolatis), but also with the Kautsky *trend* (Longuet, Axelrod, Turati).

Liebknecht declared, as early as *October 2, 1914*, in his letter to the Party Executive:

"Ich habe erklärt, dass die deutsche Partei, nach meiner innersten Überzeugung, von der Haut bis zum Mark *regeneriert* werden muss, wenn sie das Recht nicht verwirken will, sich sozialdemokratisch zu nennen, wenn sie sich die jetzt gründlich verscherzte Achtung der Welt wiedererwerben will." (*Klassenkampf gegen den Krieg!* Material zum "Fall Liebknecht". Seite 22.) (Geheim gedruckt in Deutschland: "Als Manuskript gedruckt".)*

All parties should take up Liebknecht's slogan and it would certainly be ridiculous to even think of being able to turn it into effect without ridding the party of the Scheidemanns, Legiens, Renaudels, Sembats, Plekhanovs, Vanderveldes and Co., or without denouncing the policy of concessions to the trend represented by Kautsky, Turati, Longuet and Merrheim.

* * *

10. We therefore suggest a conference of Zimmerwald supporters to discuss the following proposals:

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* I have declared my deep conviction that, if it does not want to forfeit the right to call itself a Social-Democratic party, if it wants to restore its prestige in the eyes of the world, now so thoroughly undermined, the German party must be *regenerated* from top to bottom. (*Class Struggle After the War!* Materials in the "Liebknecht Case", p. 22.) (Printed secretly in Germany: Published as a manuscript.)—*Ed.*

(1) Socialist pacifism of a definite trend—Longuet-Merrheim, Kautsky, Turati, etc.,—already rejected in principle at Kienthal, and its concrete defence by these representatives of the afore-mentioned *trends* should be decisively and unconditionally rejected as bourgeois reformism (on the basis of the theses formulated above).

(2) A similarly decisive organisational break with social-chauvinism.

(3) Explain to the working class its immediate and urgent revolutionary tasks, precisely in connection with the fact that the masses have lost patience with the war and the lying milk-and-water pacifist phrases of the bourgeoisie.

(4) Openly brand as a complete break with the spirit and decisions of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, and condemn as such, the policy of the Italian Socialist Party, which is following a patently pacifist path, and the policy of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, which on November 4, 1916 in Zurich voted to permit indirect taxes, and on January 7, 1917, through an alliance between the "Centrist" R. Grimm and the social-patriots Greulich, G. Müller and Co., secured indefinite postponement of the special party congress called for February 11, 1917 to discuss the war issue, and which now meekly accepts the outright ultimatum of these same social-patriot leaders, who openly threaten to resign from parliament if the party rejects fatherland defence.

The sad experience of the Second International has clearly demonstrated the immense damage caused by combining, in *actual practice*, "general" revolutionary decisions, formulated in general phrases, with reformist actions—when professions of internationalism are attended by refusal *jointly* to discuss, in a truly internationalist manner, fundamental problems of the tactics of each individual party as a component part of the international union.

Prior to the Zimmerwald Conference and at the Conference itself, our Party considered it its duty to acquaint the comrades with our irrevocable condemnation of pacifism and abstract preachment of peace as a bourgeois deception (a German translation of our Party's resolution, in the pamphlet *Socialism and War*,* and a French translation, in a separate

* See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 295-338.—*Ed.*

leaflet, were circulated at the Conference). The *Zimmerwald Left*, in whose organisation we shared, was formed as a separate group at the Conference for the express purpose of showing that we support the Zimmerwald group *insofar* as it combats social-chauvinism.

It has now been definitely established—of this we are profoundly convinced—that the Zimmerwald majority, or the Zimmerwald Right, has made a *roundabout turn* not towards struggle against social-chauvinism, but towards complete surrender to it, towards merger with it on a platform of empty pacifist phrases. And we consider it our duty openly to state that to support, in these circumstances, the illusion of Zimmerwald unity and Zimmerwald struggle for the Third International would cause the greatest damage to the labour movement. We declare, not as a "threat" or "ultimatum", but as an open notification of our decision, that unless the situation changes we shall not remain a member of the Zimmerwald group.

Written before December 26, 1916
(January 7, 1917)

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVII*

Published according to
the manuscript

A LETTER TO V. A. KARPINSKY[98]

Dear Comrades!

I am sending you a *most important* communication.

Discuss it and pass it on to Brilliant[99] and Guilbeaux: then we shall know *whom* they support and *who* they are: cowards or men capable of fighting.

The *whole* struggle will now be shifted here.

Let me know how they reacted and if there are any chances of publishing a protest or an open letter.

We should take advantage of the fact that *Naine* enjoys undisputed authority in French Switzerland.

Best wishes, Yours

The Executive (Parteivorstand) of the Swiss Socialist Party met in Zurich on Sunday, January 7, 1917.

It adopted a disgraceful decision—to postpone indefinitely the party congress, which was to have met in Berne on February 11, 1917 for the express purpose of discussing the war issue. The excuse: the need to fight the high cost of living; the workers are not yet ready; there was no unanimity in the commission, and similar excuses that are an outright insult to the party. (Two drafts have already been drawn up in the commission and *published confidentially*: one, *against* fatherland defence, prepared by Affolter, Nobs, Schmid, Naine and Graber; the other, *for* fatherland defence, prepared by G. Müller, Pflüger, *Huber* and Klöti.)

The January 7 meeting was very stormy. *Grimm* led the Rights, i.e., the opportunists, i.e., the nationalists, shouting the most vile things against the "foreigners", against

the *youth*, accusing them of a "split" (!!!), and so on. Naine, Platten, Nobs and Münzenberg *firmly* opposed postponing the congress. Naine told Grimm outright that he was destroying himself as an "international secretary"!

Adoption of this decision signifies complete betrayal by Grimm and is an *insult to the party* on the part of the opportunist leaders, the social-nationalists. The *entire* Zimmerwald-Kienthal group and action have been *factually* reduced to an empty phrase by a handful of leaders (Grimm included) who threaten to resign (*sic!!*) if defence of the fatherland is rejected. They are determined *not to allow* this issue to be discussed by the party "mob" until the end of the war. The *Grütlianer*[100] (January 4 and 8) is speaking the *truth* and is giving *this* party a slap in the face.

The whole struggle of the Left, the whole struggle *for* Zimmerwald and Kienthal, has now been shifted to other ground: struggle against this gang of leaders defiling the party. We must everywhere rally the Left and discuss methods of struggle. Hurry!

Would not the best method be (not a minute must be lost) to secure immediate adoption in La Chaux-de-Fonds and Geneva of protest resolutions, plus open letters to Naine, and publish them without delay? There can be no doubt that the "leaders" will bring every lever into motion to prevent protests appearing in the press.

The open letter should frankly state everything recounted here and squarely put the question: (I) Does Naine refute these facts? (2) Does he consider it *permissible*, in a democratic party of socialists, for the Executive to repeal congress decisions?—(3) *Permissible* to hide from the party the way the betrayers of socialism voted at the meeting of January 7, 1917, and the *speeches* they made there?—(4) *Permissible* to accept a chairman of the International Socialist Committee (Grimm) who combines Left phrases with *assistance* to the Swiss nationalists, opponents of Zimmerwald, "fatherland defenders" Pflüger, *Huber* and Co., in virtually *disrupting* the Zimmerwald decisions?—(5) Permissible to abuse, in the *Berner Tagwacht*, the German social-patriots, while *secretly* helping the Swiss Social-patriots? etc.

I repeat: this will not be allowed to appear in the newspapers. That is clear. Publication of an open letter to Naine on behalf of one or another group is the best method. If that is possible, lose no time and reply without delay.

Written on December 26, 1916
(January 8, 1917)

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Published according to
the manuscript

AN OPEN LETTER TO CHARLES NAINE, MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST COMMITTEE IN BERNE

Dear Comrade,

The stand taken by Mr. National Councillor Robert Grimm at the meeting of the Party Executive on January 7, jointly with all the social-nationalists and to a considerable degree as their leader, *in favour* of the resolution to postpone the party congress fills the cup of patience to overflowing and utterly exposes Mr. National Councillor Grimm in his true colours.

The chairman of the International Socialist Committee elected at Zimmerwald, the chairman of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences, the most "authoritative" representative, in the eyes of the whole world, of the entire Zimmerwald group, comes out together with, and at the head of, the social-patriots as a downright traitor to Zimmerwald. He puts forth a proposal designed to disrupt the party congress, appointed long ago for the express purpose of deciding, in the freest and—considering the place and time—most internationally influential European country, the question of defending the fatherland in an imperialist war!!

Can one remain silent? Can one remain calm in the face of such a fact, which would have for ever disgraced the entire Zimmerwald movement, and converted it into a farce, had not the mark been torn from the face of Mr. National Councillor Grimm?

The Socialist Party of Switzerland is the only European socialist party which openly and officially, in open congress unhindered by military censorship and the military authori-

ties, joined Zimmerwald, supported it, appointed two members of the International Socialist Committee and appeared before the whole world as the principal representative of the Zimmerwald movement, if we do not count the Italian party, which is in an immeasurably more difficult position owing to the oppressive war conditions. At its Zurich Congress of November 4-5, 1916, after delays caused, among other things, by the struggle against the avowed social-patriots who only in the autumn of 1916 broke away from the party to form a separate Grütli-Verein, the Socialist Party finally decided to convene a special party congress in Berne, in February 1917, to decide the questions of war and of fatherland defence. But now some individuals in the party are determined to prevent the congress, to disrupt it, to prevent the workers *themselves* from discussing and deciding, during the war, their attitude towards militarism and defence of the fatherland.

At the head of those individuals, whose policy is an outrage to the whole Zimmerwald movement, we find the chairman of the International Socialist Committee!

Is this not the utter betrayal of Zimmerwald? Is it not the *spurning* of all the Zimmerwald decisions?

We have only to glance at some of the official arguments to justify postponing the congress to understand the point and purpose of this move.

"The workers," we are told, "are not yet ready" to decide this question!

All the Zimmerwald and Kienthal manifestos and resolutions declare over and over again that fatherland defence in an imperialist war, a war between two imperialist coalitions, a war for robbing colonies and throttling weak nations, is a betrayal of socialism, irrespective of whether this relates to the "Great Powers" or to small nations, which for the time being have retained their neutrality. In dozens of ways this idea is repeated in all the official Zimmerwald and Kienthal documents. It has been presented and argued over and over again in hundreds of articles and reports in all Swiss socialist papers, notably in the *Berner Tagwacht*, of which Mr. National Councillor Grimm is editor. The declarations of sympathy for Karl Liebknecht, Höglund, MacLean, etc., emphasised hundreds of times the conviction common to

all the Zimmerwaldists, namely, that these men have *rightly* understood the position and interests of the *masses*, that the sympathy of the *masses*, i.e., of the majority of the oppressed and exploited, is on *their* side, that by its class instinct the proletariat everywhere, in "Great" belligerent Germany, as well as in small neutral Sweden, is coming to see that defence of the fatherland in an imperialist war is the *betrayal of socialism*.

And now the chairman of the International Socialist Committee, with the enthusiastic approval and warm support of all the *pronounced* representatives of social-patriotism in the Socialist Party of Switzerland—H. Greulich, P. Pflüger, Huber, Manz-Schäppi, etc., etc.—comes forth with the hypocritical and false argument that the party congress is being postponed because "the workers are not yet ready".

This is a lie; it is disgusting, intolerable hypocrisy. Everyone knows—and the *Grütlianer* openly publishes this bitter truth—that the congress is being postponed because these social-patriots are *afraid* of the workers, *afraid* that the workers will decide against defence of the fatherland; that they *threaten* to resign their seats in the Nationalrat, if a decision against defence of the fatherland is carried. The social-patriot "leaders" of the Socialist Party of Switzerland, who even now, two and a half years after the beginning of the war, favour "defence of the fatherland", i.e., *defence* of the imperialist bourgeoisie of one or the other coalition, have decided to *disrupt the congress*, to sabotage the will of the Swiss socialist workers, to prevent them from discussing and determining, during the war, their attitude towards the war, towards the "defenders of the fatherland", i.e., towards the lackeys of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

This is the real reason, which everyone knows perfectly well, why the congress has been postponed; this is a betrayal of Zimmerwald by the chairman of the International Socialist Committee, who has deserted to the side of the social-patriots in the Socialist Party of Switzerland, *against* the class-conscious workers of Switzerland!

Such is the bitter truth. It has already been told by the avowedly social-patriot *Grütlianer*, which, incidentally, is always best informed about what the *Grütlian* leaders,

Greulich, Pflüger, Hubar, Manz-Schäppi and Co., *inside* the Socialist Party are thinking and doing. Incidentally, *three days* before the meeting of January 7, 1917, this paper wrote:*

Another "official" reason for postponing the congress is that the commission specially elected in December, or even November, 1916, to frame the resolution on the war question, "failed to arrive at a unanimous decision"!!

As if Grimm and Co. did not know beforehand that unanimity on such a question was *impossible* in the Socialist Party of Switzerland as long as there remained such "leaders" as Greulich, Pflüger, G. Müller, Huber, Manz-Schäppi, Otto Lang and others, who while not joining the social-patriot Grütli party *fully share* the social-patriot views of the Grütli-Verein, and who only *deceive* the socialist workers by belonging to the *Socialist* Party!

As if Grimm and Co. did not clearly see in the summer of 1916 that there was no unity, nor could there be, on the defence of the fatherland issue: for the *social-patriot* theses of Pflüger, G. Müller and others were published in the summer of 1916, and Grimm, being a member of the Nationalrat, naturally *could not help noting thousands of times* the *social-patriot* views at least of Greulich and Co., if not of the majority of the Nationalrat Social-Democratic group.

Grimm and Co. want to deceive the socialist workers of Switzerland. That is why, in appointing a commission, they *did not publish* the names of its members. But the *Grütlianer* told the *truth* when it published those names and added, as something taken for granted, as a generally accepted truth, that *such* a commission could not arrive at a unanimous decision!

To deceive the workers, Grimm and Co. decided *not* to publish the commission resolutions *immediately*; they *concealed* the truth from the workers. Yet the resolutions have been available for a long time, and have *even been printed confidentially*!!

As was only to be expected, the resolution *accepting* "defence of the fatherland", i.e., justifying the *betrayal of socialism* during a war whose imperialist character has been exposed a thousand times, is signed by Huber. Pflüger,

* In Lenin's manuscript space is left for a quotation.—*Ed.*

Klöti and G. Müller; the resolution *rejecting* "defence of the fatherland" is signed by Nobs, Affolter, Schmid, Naine and Graber.

Grimm and the social-patriots are playing a disgraceful, unscrupulous game with the socialist workers.

The workers are not yet ready, they shout, and yet at the very same time, these *leaders conceal* from the workers *available* resolutions which definitely place before the workers two sets of ideas, *two* irreconcilable policies, the social-patriot and the Zimmerwald policies!!

Grimm and the social-patriots are brazen deceivers of the workers, for it is they who have decided to disrupt the congress, withhold publication of the resolutions, deny the workers the opportunity openly to weigh and discuss the two policies—and yet they shout that the workers "are not yet ready"!

Other "official" arguments for postponing the congress: the need to combat the high cost of living, conduct the election campaign, etc.

These arguments are a sheer insult to the workers. Who does not know that we Social-Democrats are *not* against the struggle for reforms, that, unlike the social-patriots, unlike the opportunists and reformists, *we do not confine ourselves* to the struggle for reforms, but *subordinate* it to the struggle for revolution? Who does not know that this is exactly the policy repeatedly formulated in the Zimmerwald and Kienthal manifestos? We are not opposed to elections and reforms aimed at reducing the high cost of living, but our first concern is openly to tell the masses the *truth*, namely, that it is *impossible* to eliminate high living costs without expropriating the banks and big industry, i.e., without social revolution.

What does *every* Zimmerwald manifesto call upon the proletariat to do in *retaliation* to the war, in *connection* with the war?

It calls for revolutionary mass struggle, for the workers to turn their weapons against the enemy in their own country (see the last International Socialist Committee manifesto: *An die Arbeiterklasse*,* end of December 1916), i.e., to turn

* *To the Working Class.—Ed.*

their weapons against *their own* bourgeoisie, *their own* government.

Should this not make it clear to every thinking person that the policy of *repudiating* defence of the fatherland is *linked* with the really revolutionary and really socialist struggle against the high cost of living, with a really socialist, and not bourgeois-reformist, utilisation of the election campaign?

Is it not clear that the social-patriot policy, the "fatherland defence" policy in the imperialist war, is the policy of *reformism*, i.e., a bourgeois-reformist and *not* a socialist struggle against high prices, merely an election campaign struggle?

How is it possible to "*postpone*" a congress which is to decide the "defence of the fatherland" issue (i.e., to choose *between* social-patriot and socialist policy) "on the plea" that it is necessary to combat high prices, etc.?? Grimm and the social-patriots advance this false and fraudulent argument to *obscure* from the workers the truth that they want to combat high living costs, conduct the election campaign, etc., in a bourgeois-reformist spirit and not in the Zimmerwald spirit.

On August 6, 1916, Grimm addressed a meeting in Zurich of 115 Arbeitervertrauensleute aus der ganzen Schweiz.* His speech was a plea for a bourgeois-reformist, purely reformist, struggle against the high cost of living! Grimm is marching "with sure stop" to *his* goal, i.e., to rapprochement with the social-patriots *against* the socialist workers, *against* Zimmerwald.

Particularly disgusting in all this is the fact that Grimm *covers up* his desertion to the social-patriots by *roundly* abusing the *non-Swiss* social-patriots. And in this lies one of the deepest roots of Grimm's treachery, one of the deepest sources of the whole policy of deception which was revealed on January 7, 1917.

Look at the *Berner Tagwacht*. It has heaped every manner of abuse on the Russian, French, English, German and Austrian social-patriots—in short, on everyone ... except the Swiss! Grimm has even called the German social-patriot

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* Workers delegates from all parts of Switzerland.[101]—*Ed.*

Ebert, a member of the German Social-Democratic Party Executive, "einen Rausschmeisser in einem Bordell"* (*Berner Tagwacht* No. ...).

Brave fellow, this Grimm, a knightly warrior! Sitting in Berne, he bravely attacks the social-patriots ... in Berlin! But this knight maintains a noble *reticence* about the social-patriots ... *in Berne and Zurich*!

But is there any difference between Ebert in Berlin and Greulich, Manz-Schäppi and Pflüger in Zurich, and Gustav Müller, Schneeberger and Dürr in Berne? *None whatever. They are all social-patriots*. They all share exactly the same views. The ideas they bring the masses are "*Grütlian*", i.e., reformist, nationalist, bourgeois, ideas, *not* socialist ideas.

When Grimm drew up his theses on the war issue in the summer of 1916, he deliberately made them long and vague in the hope that this would deceive both the Left and the Right and enable him to "cash in" on their differences. He concluded the theses with the following sentence:

"The party and trade union organs should reach agreement" (in the event of a war danger and the need for revolutionary mass action).

But who is at the head of the trade unions in Switzerland? Among others, the very Schneeberger and Dürr who in the summer of 1916 were the editors of the *Schweizerische Metallarbeiterzeitung*.** They conducted this payer in a reactionary, reformist, social-patriot spirit, *openly* declaring that they stood *for* "defence of the fatherland", and *openly* protesting against the *whole* policy of Zimmerwald.

And at the head of the Socialist Party of Switzerland, as the events of January 7, 1917 reaffirmed, are the social-patriots Greulich, Pflüger, Manz-Schäppi, Huber, etc., etc.

And so, what is the net result?

It amounts to this: in his theses Grimm proposed that the party place the leadership of revolutionary mass actions *against the war* in the hands of *none other* than the social-patriots Schneeberger, Dürr, Greulich, Pflüger and Co.! In the hands of the very people who are *opposed* to such actions, in the hands of *reformists*!!

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* A "bouncer" in a brothel—*Ed.*

** Swiss Metalworkers Gazette.—*Ed.*

Now, after January 7, 1917, Grimm's "tactics" have been fully exposed.

He wants to be regarded as leader of the Left, as chairman of the International Socialist Committee, representative and leader of the Zimmerwaldists. He is trying to deceive the workers with the most "r-r-revolutionary" phrases, using them, in *reality*, to *conceal* the party's old, social-patriot, bourgeois-reformist practice.

He vows and swears that he sympathises with Karl Liebknecht, Höglund, etc., that he is *their* supporter, that he is pursuing *their* policy.

But Karl Liebknecht in Germany, Höglund in small neutral Sweden, fought not against *foreign*, but against their *own* social-patriots. They attacked the reformists and nationalists at home, in Berlin, in Stockholm, not in other countries. Their ruthless exposure of the social-patriots won them the honour of being hated by the *Berlin* and *Stockholm* Greulichs, Pflügers, Schneebergers and Dürrs.

Is it so difficult to realise that when the French chauvinists laud the German Liebknecht, and when the German chauvinists laud the Englishman MacLean, they are behaving like swindlers—using "internationalist" phrases in praise of *other people*'s internationalism to cover up *their own* nationalism? Is it so difficult to realise that Grimm is behaving in the very same manner when he pours abuse on the social-patriots of all countries *except* Switzerland, that he does this for the express purpose of covering up his desertion to the Swiss social-patriots?

Grimm denounced the German social-patriot Ebert as a "Rausschmeisser in einem Bordell" for having stolen the *Vorwärts* from the German workers, for *ejecting* Left wingers from the party while shouting about a split.

But what is Grimm doing at home, in Switzerland, in company with the dismal heroes of dismal January 7, 1917?

Did he not steal from the Swiss workers the solemnly promised special congress to discuss the fatherland defence issue? And is he not preparing to expel Zimmerwaldists from the party while shouting about a split?

Let us not be childishly naïve, let us squarely face the truth!

At the January 7 meeting, Grimm's new friends and patrons, the social-patriots, joined him in protesting against a

split. They especially accused the youth organisation of splitting activities. One of them shouted to the party secretary, Platten, "Er sei kein Parteisekretär, er sei Parteiverräter."*

Can one remain silent when such things are being said and when the "leaders" want to hide them from the party? Can it be that the Swiss socialist workers will not protest against such methods?

What crime have the Youth League and Platten committed? Their only crime is that they are sincere adherents of Zimmerwald, sincere Zimmerwaldists, and not careerists. Their only crime is that they are *opposed* to postponing the congress. And if scandal-mongers say that only the Zimmerwald Left, acting as a separate faction, is opposed to the postponement of the congress, "opposed to His Majesty Grimm" in general, has not January 7, 1917 proved that this is nothing but idle gossip? Have not you, Comrade Naine, spoken in opposition to Grimm, although you have never, either directly or indirectly, formally or informally, adhered to the Zimmerwald Left?

Causing a split! That is the truly threadbare accusation the social-patriots in all countries are making in order to cover up the fact that *they* are ejecting the Liebknechts and the Höglunds from the party.

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* "He is not a party secretary, he is a party traitor."—*Ed.*

TO THE WORKERS WHO SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAR AND AGAINST THE SOCIALISTS WHO HAVE SIDED WITH THEIR GOVERNMENTS

The international situation is becoming increasingly clear and increasingly menacing. Both belligerent coalitions have latterly revealed the imperialist nature of the war in a very striking way. The more assiduously the capitalist governments and the bourgeois and socialist pacifists spread their empty, lying pacifist phrases—the talk of a democratic peace, a peace without annexations, etc.—the sooner are they exposed. Germany is crushing several small nations under her iron heel with the very evident determination not to give up her booty except by exchanging part of it for enormous colonial possessions, and she is using hypocritical pacifist phrases as a cover for her readiness to conclude an immediate imperialist peace.

England and her allies are clinging just as tightly to the colonies seized from Germany, part of Turkey, etc., claiming that in endlessly continuing the slaughter for possession of Constantinople, strangulation of Galicia, partition of Austria, the ruin of Germany, they are fighting for a "just" peace.

The truth, of which only a few were theoretically convinced at the beginning of the war, is now becoming palpably evident to an increasing number of class-conscious workers, namely, that a serious struggle against the war, a struggle to abolish war and establish lasting peace, is out of the question unless there is a mass revolutionary struggle led by the proletariat against the government in every country, unless bourgeois rule is overthrown, unless a socialist revolution is brought about. And the war itself, which is imposing an unprecedented strain upon the peoples, is bringing man-

kind to this, the only way out of the impasse, is compelling it to take giant strides towards state capitalism, and is demonstrating in a practical manner how planned social economy can and should be conducted, not in the interests of the capitalists, but by expropriating them, under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat, in the interests of the masses who are now perishing from starvation and the other calamities caused by the war.

The more obvious this truth becomes, the wider becomes the gulf separating the two irreconcilable tendencies, policies, trends of socialist activity, which we indicated at Zimmerwald, where we acted as a separate Left wing, and in a manifesto to all socialist parties and to all class-conscious workers issued on behalf of the Left wing immediately after the conference. This is the gulf that lies between the attempts to conceal the obvious bankruptcy of official socialism and its representatives' desertion to the bourgeoisie and their governments, as well as the attempts to reconcile the masses with this complete betrayal of socialism, on the one hand, and, on the other, the efforts to expose this bankruptcy in all its magnitude, to expose the bourgeois policy of the "social-patriots", who have deserted the proletariat for the bourgeoisie, to destroy their influence over the masses and to create the possibility and the organisational basis for a genuine struggle against the war.

The Zimmerwald Right wing, which was in the majority at the conference, fought the idea of breaking with the social-patriots and founding the Third International tooth and nail. Since then the split has become a definite fact in England; and in Germany the last conference of the "opposition", on January 7, 1917, revealed to all who do not wilfully shut their eyes to the facts, that in that country too there are two irreconcilably hostile labour parties, working in opposite directions. One is a socialist party, working for the most part underground, and with Karl Liebknecht one of its leaders. The other is a thoroughly bourgeois, social-patriot party, which is trying to reconcile the workers to the war and to the government. The same division is to be observed in every country of the world.

At the Kienthal Conference the Zimmerwald Right wing did not have so large a majority as to be able to continue its

own policy. It voted for the resolution against the social-patriot International Socialist Bureau, a resolution which condemned the latter in the sharpest terms, and for the resolution against social-pacifism, which warned the workers against lying pacifist phrases, regardless of socialist trimmings. Socialist pacifism, which refrains from explaining to the workers the illusory nature of hopes for peace *without* overthrowing the bourgeoisie and organising socialism, is merely an echo of bourgeois pacifism, which instils in the workers faith in the bourgeoisie, presents the imperialist governments and the deals they make with each other in a good light and distracts the masses from the maturing socialist revolution, which events have put on the order of the day.

But what transpired? After the Kienthal Conference, the Zimmerwald Right, in a number of important countries, in France, Germany and Italy, slid wholly and entirely into the very social-pacifism Kienthal had condemned and rejected! In Italy, the Socialist Party has tacitly accepted the pacifist phrases of its parliamentary group and its principal speaker, Turati, though, precisely now, when absolutely the same phrases are being used by Germany and the Entente and by representatives of the bourgeois governments of a number of neutral countries, where the bourgeoisie has accumulated and continues to accumulate enormous war profits—precisely now their utter falsehood has been exposed. In fact, pacifist phrases have proved to be a cover for the new turn in the fight for division of imperialist spoils!

In Germany, Kautsky, the leader of the Zimmerwald Right, issued a similar meaningless and non-committal pacifist manifesto, which merely instils in the workers hope in the bourgeoisie and faith in illusions. Genuine socialists, the genuine internationalists in Germany, the *Internationale* group and the International Socialists of Germany, who are applying Karl Liebknecht's tactics in practice, were obliged formally to dissociate themselves from this manifesto.

In France, Merrheim and Bourderon, who took part in the Zimmerwald Conference, and Raffin-Dugens, who took part in the Kienthal Conference, have voted *for* meaningless and, objectively, thoroughly false pacifist resolutions, which, in the present state of affairs, are so much to the *advantage* of

the imperialist bourgeoisie that even Jouhaux and Renaudel, denounced as betrayers of socialism in all the Zimmerwald and Kienthal declarations, voted for them!

That Merrheim voted with Jouhaux and Bourderon and Raffin-Dugens with Renaudel is no accident, no isolated episode. It is a striking symbol of the imminent *merger* everywhere of the social-patriots and social-pacifists *against* the international socialists.

The pacifist phrases in the notes of a long list of imperialist governments, the same pacifist phrases uttered by Kautsky, Turati, Bourderon and Merrheim—Renaudel extending a friendly hand to the one and the other—all this exposes pacifism in *actual* politics as a means of *placating* the people, as a means of *helping* the governments to condition the masses to continuation of the imperialist slaughter!

This complete bankruptcy of the Zimmerwald Right has been still more strikingly revealed in Switzerland, the only European country where the Zimmerwaldists could meet freely, and which served as their base. The Socialist Party of Switzerland, which has held its congresses during the war without interference from the government and is in a better position than any other party to promote international solidarity between the German, French and Italian workers against the war, has officially affiliated to Zimmerwald.

And yet, on a decisive question affecting a proletarian party, one of this party's leaders, the chairman of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences, a prominent member and representative of the Berne International Socialist Committee, National Councillor R. Grimm, *deserted* to the social-patriots of *his country*. At the meeting of the Parteivorstand* of the Socialist Party of Switzerland on January 7, 1917, he secured the adoption of a decision to *postpone* indefinitely the party congress, which was to be convened for the express purpose of deciding the fatherland defence issue and the party's attitude towards the Kienthal Conference decisions condemning social-pacifism.

In a manifesto signed by the International Socialist Committee and dated December 1916, Grimm describes as hypo-

* Executive.—*Ed.*

critical the pacifist phrases of the governments, but says not a word about the socialist pacifism that unites Merrheim and Jouhaux, Raffin-Dugens and Renaudel. In this manifesto Grimm urges the socialist minorities to fight the governments and their social-patriot hirelings, but at the same time, jointly with the "social-patriot hirelings" in the Swiss party, he endeavours to *bury* the party congress, thus rousing the just indignation of all the class-conscious and sincerely internationalist Swiss workers.

No excuses can conceal the fact that the Parteivorstand decision of January 7, 1917 signifies the complete victory of the Swiss social-patriots *over* the Swiss socialist workers, the victory of the Swiss opponents of Zimmerwald *over* Zimmerwald.

The *Grütlianer*, that organ of the consistent and avowed servants of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement, said what everyone knows is true when it declared that social-patriots of the Greulich and Pflüger type, to whom should be added Seidel, Huber, Lang, Schneeberger, Dürr, etc., want to prevent the congress from being held, want to prevent the workers from deciding the fatherland defence issue, and threaten to *resign* if the congress is held and a decision in the spirit of Zimmerwald is adopted.

Grimm resorted to an outrageous and intolerable falsehood at the Parteivorstand and in his newspaper, the *Berner Tagwacht*, of January 8, 1917, when he claimed that the congress had to he postponed because the workers were not ready, that it was necessary to campaign against the high cost of living, that the "Left" were themselves in favour of postponement, etc.[102]

In reality, it was the Left, i.e., the sincere Zimmerwaldists, who, anxious to choose the lesser of two evils and also to expose the real intentions of the social-patriots and their new friend, Grimm, proposed postponing the congress until *March*, voted to postpone it until *May*, and suggested that the meetings of the cantonal committees he held before *July*; but *all* these proposals were voted down by the "fatherland defenders", led by the chairman of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences, Robert Grimm!!

In reality, the question was: shall the Berne International Socialist Committee and Grimm's paper be allowed to

hurl abuse at *foreign* social-patriots and, at first by their silence and then by Grimm's desertion, *shield* the *Swiss* social-patriots; or shall an honest internationalist policy be pursued, a policy of fighting primarily the social-patriots *at home*?

In reality, the question was: shall the domination of the social-patriots and reformists in the Swiss party be concealed by revolutionary phrases; or shall we oppose to them a *revolutionary* programme and tactics on the question of combating the high cost of living, as well as of combating the war, of putting on the order of the day the fight for the socialist revolution?

In reality, the question was: shall the *worst* traditions of the ignominiously bankrupt Second International be continued in Zimmerwald; shall the workers be kept ignorant of the things the party leaders do and say at the Parteivorstand; shall-revolutionary phrases be allowed to cover up the vileness of social-patriotism and reformism, or shall we be internationalists *in deeds*?

In reality, the question was: shall we in Switzerland too, where the party is of primary importance for the whole of the Zimmerwald group, insist upon a clear, principled and politically honest division between the social-patriots and the internationalists, between the bourgeois reformists and the revolutionaries; between the counsellors of the proletariat, who are helping it carry out the socialist revolution, and the bourgeois agents or "hirelings", who want to divert the workers from revolution by means of reforms or promises of reforms: between the Grütlians and the Socialist Party—*or* shall we confuse and corrupt the minds of the workers by conducting in the Socialist Party the "Grütlian" policy of the Grütlians, i.e., the social-patriots in the ranks of the Socialist Party?

Let the Swiss social-patriots, those "Grütlians" who want to operate their Grütlian policy, i.e., the policy of their national bourgeoisie, abuse the foreigners, let them defend the "inviolability" of the Swiss party from criticism by other parties, let them champion the old bourgeois-reformist policy, i.e., the very policy that brought on the collapse of the German and other parties on August 4, 1914—we, who adhere to Zimmerwald in deeds and not merely in words, interpret internationalism differently.

We are not prepared passively to regard the efforts, now definitely revealed, and sanctified by the chairman of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences, to leave everything unchanged in decaying European socialism and, by means of hypocritical professions of solidarity with Karl Liebknecht, to *bypass* the real slogan of this leader of the international workers, his appeal to work for the "regeneration" of the old parties from "top to bottom". We are convinced that on our side are all the class-conscious workers in all countries, who enthusiastically greeted Karl Liebknecht and his tactics.

We openly expose the Zimmerwald Right, which has deserted to bourgeois-reformist pacifism.

We openly expose Grimm's betrayal of Zimmerwald and demand convocation of a conference to remove him from his post on the International Socialist Committee.

The word Zimmerwald is the slogan of international socialism and revolutionary struggle. This word must not serve to shield social-patriotism and bourgeois reformism.

Stand for true internationalism, which calls for the struggle, *first of all*, against the social-patriots in your own country! Stand for true revolutionary tactics, which are impossible if there is a compromise with the social-patriots *against* the revolutionary socialist workers!

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December (old style) 1916

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LECTURE ON THE 1905 REVOLUTION[103]

My young friends and comrades,

Today is the twelfth anniversary of "Bloody Sunday", which is rightly regarded as the beginning of the Russian revolution.

Thousands of workers—not Social-Democrats, but loyal God-fearing subjects—led by the priest Gapon, streamed from all parts of the capital to its centre, to the square in front of the Winter Palace, to submit a petition to the tsar. The workers carried icons. In a letter to the tsar, their then leader, Gapon, had guaranteed his personal safety and asked him to appear before the people.

Troops were called out. Uhlans and Cossacks attacked the crowd with drawn swords. They fired on the unarmed workers, who on their bended knees implored the Cossacks to allow them to go to the tsar. Over one thousand were killed and over two thousand wounded on that day, according to police reports. The indignation of the workers was indescribable.

Such is the general picture of January 22, 1905—"Bloody Sunday".

That you may understand more clearly the historic significance of this event, I shall quote a few passages from the workers' petition. It begins with the following words:

"We workers, inhabitants of St. Petersburg, have come to Thee. We are unfortunate, reviled slaves, weighed down by despotism and tyranny. Our patience exhausted, we ceased work and begged our masters to give us only that without which life is a torment. But this was refused; to the employers everything seemed unlawful. We are here, many thousands of us. Like the whole of the Russian people, we have no

human rights whatever. Owing to the deeds of Thy officials we have become slaves."

The petition contains the following demands: amnesty, civil liberties, fair wages, gradual transfer of the land to the people, convocation of a constituent assembly on the basis of universal and equal suffrage. It ends with the following words:

"Sire, do not refuse aid to Thy people! Demolish the wall that separates Thee from Thy people. Order and promise that our requests will be granted, and Thou wilt make Russia happy; if not, we are ready to die on this very spot. We have only two roads: freedom and happiness, or the grave."

Reading it *now*, this petition of uneducated, illiterate workers, led by a patriarchal priest, creates a strange impression. Involuntarily one compares this naïve petition with the present peace resolutions of the social-pacifists, the would-be socialists who in reality are bourgeois phrasemongers. The unenlightened workers of pre-revolutionary Russia did not know that the tsar was the head of the *ruling class*, the class, namely, of big landowners, already bound by a thousand ties with the big bourgeoisie and prepared to defend their monopoly, privileges and profits by every means of violence. The social-pacifists of today, who pretend to be "highly educated" people—no joking—do not realise that it is just as foolish to expect a "democratic" peace from bourgeois governments that are waging an imperialist predatory war, as it was to believe that peaceful petitions would induce the bloody tsar to grant democratic reforms.

Nevertheless, there is a great difference between the two—the present-day social-pacifists are, to a large extent, hypocrites, who strive by gentle admonitions to divert the people from the revolutionary struggle, whereas the uneducated workers in pre-revolutionary Russia proved by their deeds that they were straightforward people awakened to political consciousness for the first time.

It is in this awakening of tremendous masses of the people to political consciousness and revolutionary struggle that the historic significance of January 22, 1905 lies.

"There is not yet a revolutionary people in Russia," wrote Mr. Pyotr Struve, then leader of the Russian liberals

and publisher abroad of an illegal, uncensored organ, *two days* before "Bloody Sunday". The idea that an illiterate peasant country could produce a revolutionary people seemed utterly absurd to this "highly educated", supercilious and extremely stupid leader of the bourgeois reformists. So deep was the conviction of the reformists of those days—as of the reformists of today—that a real revolution was impossible!

Prior to January 22 (or January 9, old style), 1905, the revolutionary party of Russia consisted of a small group of people, and the reformists of those days (exactly like the reformists of today) derisively called us a "sect". Several hundred revolutionary organisers, several thousand members of local organisations, half a dozen revolutionary papers appearing not more frequently than once a month, published mainly abroad and smuggled into Russia with incredible difficulty and at the cost of many sacrifices—such were the revolutionary parties in Russia, and the revolutionary Social-Democracy in particular, prior to January 22, 1905. This circumstance gave the narrow-minded and overbearing reformists formal justification for their claim that there was not yet a revolutionary people in Russia.

Within a few months, however, the picture changed completely. The hundreds of revolutionary Social-Democrats "suddenly" grew into thousands; the thousands became the leaders of between two and three million proletarians. The proletarian struggle produced widespread ferment, often revolutionary movements among the peasant masses, fifty to a hundred million strong; the peasant movement had its reverberations in the army and led to soldiers' revolts, to armed clashes between one section of the army and another. In this manner a colossal country, with a population of 130,000,000, went into the revolution; in this way, dormant Russia was transformed into a Russia of a revolutionary proletariat and a revolutionary people.

It is necessary to study this transformation, understand why it was possible, its methods and ways, so to speak.

The principal factor in this transformation was the *mass strike*. The peculiarity of the Russian revolution is that it was a *bourgeois-democratic* revolution in its social content, but a *proletarian* revolution in its methods of struggle. It

was a bourgeois-democratic revolution since its immediate aim, which it could achieve directly and with its own forces, was a democratic republic, the eight-hour day and confiscation of the immense estates of the nobility—all the measures the French bourgeois revolution in 1792-93 had almost completely achieved.

At the same time, the Russian revolution was also a proletarian revolution, not only in the sense that the proletariat was the leading force, the vanguard of the movement, but also in the sense that a specifically proletarian weapon of struggle—the strike—was the principal means of bringing the masses into motion and the most characteristic phenomenon in the wave-like rise of decisive events.

The Russian revolution was the *first*, though certainly not the last, great revolution in history in which the mass political strike played an extraordinarily important part. It may even be said that the events of the Russian revolution and the sequence of its political forms cannot be understood without a study of the *strike statistics* to disclose the *basis* of these events and this sequence of forms.

I know perfectly well that dry statistics are hardly suitable in a lecture and are likely to bore the hearer. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from quoting a few figures, in order that you may be able to appreciate the real objective basis of the whole movement. The average annual number of strikers in Russia during the ten years preceding the revolution was 43,000, which means 430,000 for the decade. In January 1905, the first month of the revolution, the number of strikers was 440,000. In other words, there were *more* strikers *in one month* than in the whole of the preceding decade!

In no capitalist country in the world, not even in the most advanced countries like England, the United States of America, or Germany, has there been anything to match the tremendous Russian strike movement of 1905. The total number of strikers was 2,800,000, more than two times the number of factory workers in the country! This, of course, does not prove that the urban factory workers of Russia were more educated, or stronger, or more adapted to the struggle than their brothers in Western Europe. The very opposite is true.

But it does show how great the dormant energy of the proletariat can be. It shows that in a revolutionary epoch—I say this without the slightest exaggeration, on the basis of the most accurate data of Russian history—the proletariat *can* generate fighting energy *a hundred times greater* than in ordinary, peaceful times. It shows that up to 1905 mankind did not yet know what a great, what a tremendous exertion of effort the proletariat is, and will be, capable of in a fight for really great aims, and one waged in a really revolutionary manner!

The history of the Russian revolution shows that it was the vanguard, the finest elements of the wage-workers, that fought with the greatest tenacity and the greatest devotion. The larger the mills and factories involved, the more stubborn were the strikes, and the more often did they recur during the year. The bigger the city, the more important was the part the proletariat played in the struggle. Three big cities, St. Petersburg, Riga and Warsaw, which have the largest and most class-conscious working-class element, show an immeasurably greater number of strikers, in relation to all workers, than any other city, and, of course, much greater than the rural districts.*

In Russia—as probably in other capitalist countries—the metalworkers represent the vanguard of the proletariat. In this connection we note the following instructive fact: taking all industries, the number of persons involved in strikes in 1905 was 160 per hundred workers employed, but in the *metal industry* the number was 320 per hundred! It is estimated that in consequence of the 1905 strikes every Russian factory worker lost an average of ten rubles in wages—approximately 26 francs at the pre-war rate of exchange—sacrificing this money, as it were, for the sake of the struggle. But if we take the metalworkers, we find that the loss in wages was *three times as great*! The finest elements of the working class marched in the forefront, giving leadership to the hesitant, rousing the dormant and encouraging the weak.

A distinctive feature was the manner in which economic strikes were interwoven with political strikes during the

* In the manuscript this paragraph is crossed out.—*Ed.*

revolution. There can be no doubt that only this very close link-up of the two forms of strike gave the movement its great power. The broad masses of the exploited could not have been drawn into the revolutionary movement had they not been given daily examples of how the wage-workers in the various industries were forcing the capitalists to grant immediate, direct improvements in their conditions. This struggle imbued the masses of the Russian people with a new spirit. Only then did the old serf-ridden, sluggish, patriarchal, pious and obedient Russia cast out the old Adam; only then did the Russian people obtain a really democratic and really revolutionary education.

When the bourgeois gentry and their uncritical echoers, the social-reformists, talk priggishly about the "education" of the masses, they usually mean something schoolmasterly, pedantic, something that demoralises the masses and instils in them bourgeois prejudices.

The real education of the masses can never be separated from their independent political, and especially revolutionary, struggle. Only struggle educates the exploited class. Only struggle discloses to it the magnitude of its own power, widens its horizon, enhances its abilities, clarifies its mind, forges its will. That is why even reactionaries had to admit that the year 1905, the year of struggle, the "mad year", definitely buried patriarchal Russia.

Let us examine more closely the relation, in the 1905 strike struggles, between the metalworkers and the textile workers. The metalworkers are the best paid, the most class-conscious and best educated proletarians. The textile workers, who in 1905 were two and a half times more numerous than the metalworkers, are the most backward and the worst paid body of workers in Russia, and in very many cases have not yet definitely severed connections with their peasant kinsmen in the village. This brings us to a very important circumstance.

Throughout the whole of 1905, the metalworkers' strikes show a preponderance of political over economic strikes, though this preponderance was far greater toward the end of the year than at the beginning. Among the textile workers, on the other hand, we observe an overwhelming preponderance of economic strikes at the beginning of 1905, and it is

only at the end of the year that we get a preponderance of political strikes. From this it follows quite obviously that the economic struggle, the struggle for immediate and direct improvement of conditions, is alone capable of rousing the most backward strata of the exploited masses, gives them a real education and transforms them—during a revolutionary period—into an army of political fighters within the space of a few months.

Of course, for this to happen, it was necessary for the vanguard of the workers not to regard the class struggle as a struggle in the interests of a thin upper stratum—a conception the reformists all too often try to instil—but for the proletariat to come forward as the real vanguard of the majority of the exploited and draw that majority into the struggle, as was the case in Russia in 1905, and as must be, and certainly will be, the case in the impending proletarian revolution in Europe.*

The beginning of 1905 brought the first great wave of strikes that swept the entire country. As early as the spring of that year we see the rise of the first big, not only economic, but also political *peasant movement* in Russia. The importance of this historical turning-point will be appreciated if it is borne in mind that the Russian peasantry was liberated from the severest form of serfdom only in 1861, that the majority of the peasants are illiterate, that they live in indescribable poverty, oppressed by the landlords, deluded by the priests and isolated from each other by vast distances and an almost complete absence of roads.

Russia witnessed the first revolutionary movement against tsarism in 1825, a movement represented almost exclusively by noblemen. Thereafter and up to 1881, when Alexander II was assassinated by the terrorists, the movement was led by middle-class intellectuals. They displayed supreme self-sacrifice and astonished the whole world by the heroism of their terrorist methods of struggle. Their sacrifices were certainly not in vain. They doubtlessly contributed—directly or indirectly—to the subsequent revolutionary education of the Russian people. But they did not, and could

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* In the manuscript the four preceding paragraphs are crossed out.—*Ed.*

not, achieve their immediate aim of generating a people's revolution.

That was achieved only by the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Only the waves of mass strikes that swept over the whole country, strikes connected with the severe lessons of the imperialist Russo-Japanese War, roused the broad masses of peasants from their lethargy. The word "striker" acquired an entirely new meaning among the peasants: it signified a rebel, a revolutionary, a term previously expressed by the word "student". But the "student" belonged to the middle class, to the "learned", to the "gentry", and was therefore alien to the people. The "striker", on the other hand, was of the people; he belonged to the exploited class. Deported from St. Petersburg, he often returned to the village where he told his fellow villagers of the conflagration which was spreading to all the cities and would destroy both the capitalists and the nobility. A new type appeared in the Russian village—the class-conscious young peasant. He associated with "strikers", he read newspapers, he told the peasants about events in the cities, explained to his fellow-villagers the meaning of political demands, and urged them to fight the landowning nobility, the priests and the government officials.

The peasants would gather in groups to discuss their conditions, and gradually they were drawn into the struggle. Large crowds attacked the big estates, set fire to the manor-houses and appropriated supplies, seized grain and other foodstuffs, killed policemen and demanded transfer to the people of the huge estates.

In the spring of 1905, the peasant movement was only just beginning, involving only a minority, approximately one-seventh, of the uyezds.

But the combination of the proletarian mass strikes in the cities with the peasant movement in the rural areas was sufficient to shake the "firmest" and last prop of tsarism. I refer to the *army*.

There began a series of *mutinies* in the navy and the army. During the revolution, every fresh wave of strikes and of the peasant movement was accompanied by mutinies in all parts of Russia. The most well-known of these is the mutiny on the Black Sea cruiser *Prince Potemkin*, which was

seized by the mutineers and took part in the revolution in Odessa. After the defeat of the revolution and unsuccessful attempts to seize other ports (Feodosia in the Crimea, for instance), it surrendered to the Rumanian authorities in Constantsa.

Permit me to relate in detail one small episode of the Black Sea mutiny in order to give you a concrete picture of events at the peak of the movement.

"Gatherings of revolutionary workers and sailors were being organised more and more frequently. Since servicemen were not allowed to attend workers' meetings, large crowds of workers came to military meetings. They came in thousands. The idea of joint action found a lively response. Delegates were elected from the companies where political understanding among the men was higher.

"The military authorities thereupon decided to take action. Some of the officers tried to deliver 'patriotic' speeches at the meetings but failed dismally: the sailors, who were accustomed to debating, put their officers to shameful flight. In view of this, it was decided to prohibit meetings altogether. On the morning of November 24, 1905, a company of sailors, In full combat kit, was posted at the gates of the naval barracks. Rear-Admiral Pisarevsky gave the order in a loud voice: 'No one is to leave the barracks! Shoot anyone who disobeys!' A sailor named Petrov, of the company that had been given that order, stepped forth from the ranks, loaded his rifle in the view of all, and with one shot killed Captain Stein of the Belostok Regiment, and with another wounded Rear-Admiral Pisarevsky. 'Arrest him!' one of the officers shouted. No one budged. Petrov threw down his rifle, exclaiming: 'Why don't you move? Take me!' He was arrested. The sailors, who rushed from every side, angrily demanded his release, declaring that they vouched for him. Excitement ran high.

"'Petrov, the shot was an accident, wasn't it?' asked one of the officers, trying to find a way out of the situation.

"'What do you mean, an accident? I stepped forward, loaded and took aim. Is that an accident?'

"'They demand your release....'

"And Petrov was released. The sailors, however, were not content with that; all officers on duty were arrested, disarmed, and locked up at headquarters.... Sailor delegates, about forty in number, conferred the whole night. The decision was to release the officers, but not to permit them to enter the barracks again."

This small incident clearly shows you how events developed in most of the mutinies. The revolutionary ferment among the people could not but spread to the armed forces. It is indicative that the leaders of the movement came from *those elements* in the army and the navy who had been recruited mainly from among the industrial workers

and of whom more technical training was required, for instance, the sappers. The broad masses, however, were still too naïve, their mood was too passive, too good-natured, too Christian. They flared up rather quickly; any instance of injustice, excessively harsh treatment by the officers, bad food, etc., could lead to revolt. But what they lacked was persistence, a clear perception of aim, a clear understanding that only the most vigorous continuation of the armed struggle, only a victory over all the military and civil authorities, only the overthrow of the government and the seizure of power throughout the country could guarantee the success of the revolution.

The broad masses of sailors and soldiers were easily roused to revolt. But with equal light-heartedness they foolishly released arrested officers. They allowed the officers to pacify them by promises and persuasion: in this way the officers gained precious time, brought in reinforcements, broke the strength of the rebels, and then followed the most brutal suppression of the movement and the execution of its leaders.

A comparison of these 1905 mutinies with the Decembrist uprising of 1825 is particularly interesting. In 1825 the leaders of the political movement were almost exclusively officers, and officers drawn from the nobility. They had become infected, through contact, with the democratic ideas of Europe during the Napoleonic wars. The mass of the soldiers, who at that time were still serfs, remained passive.

The history of 1905 presents a totally different picture. With few exceptions, the mood of the officers was either bourgeois-liberal, reformist, or frankly counter-revolutionary. The workers and peasants in military uniform were the soul of the mutinies. The movement spread to all sections of the people, and for the first time in Russia's history involved the majority of the exploited. But what it lacked was, on the one hand, persistence and determination among the masses—they were too much afflicted with the malady of trustfulness—and, on the other, organisation of revolutionary Social-Democratic workers in military uniform—they lacked the ability to take the leadership into their own hands, march at the head of the revolutionary army and launch an offensive against the government.

I might remark, incidentally, that these two shortcomings will—more slowly, perhaps, than we would like, but surely—be eliminated not only by the general development of capitalism, but also by the present war...*

At any rate, the history of the Russian revolution, like the history of the Paris Commune of 1871, teaches us the incontrovertible lesson that militarism can never and under no circumstances be defeated and destroyed, except by a victorious struggle of one section of the national army against the other section. It is not sufficient simply to denounce, revile and "repudiate" militarism, to criticise and prove that it is harmful; it is foolish peacefully to refuse to perform military service. The task is to keep the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat tense and train its best elements, not only in a general way, but concretely, so that when popular ferment reaches the highest pitch, they will put themselves at the head of the revolutionary army.

The day-to-day experience of any capitalist country teaches us the same lesson. Every "minor" crisis that such a country experiences discloses to us in miniature the elements, the rudiments, of the battles that will inevitably take place on a large scale during a big crisis. What else, for instance, is a strike if not a minor crisis of capitalist society? Was not the Prussian Minister for Internal Affairs, Herr von Puttkammer, right when he coined the famous phrase: "In every strike there lurks the hydra of revolution"? Does not the calling out of troops during strikes in all, even the most peaceful, the most "democratic"—save the mark—capitalist countries show *how* things will shape out in a really *big* crisis?

But to return to the history of the Russian revolution.

I have tried to show you how the workers' strikes stirred up the whole country and the broadest, most backward strata of the exploited, how the peasant movement began, and how it was accompanied by mutiny in the armed forces.

The movement reached its zenith in the autumn of 1905. On August 19 (6), the tsar issued a manifesto on the introduction of popular representation. The so-called Bulygin

* In the manuscript the three preceding paragraphs are crossed out.—*Ed.*

Duma was to be created on the basis of a suffrage embracing a ridiculously small number of voters, and this peculiar "parliament" was to have no legislative powers whatever, only *advisory*, consultative powers!

The bourgeoisie, the liberals, the opportunists were ready to grasp with both hands this "gift" of the frightened tsar. Like all reformists, our reformists of 1905 could not understand that historic situations arise when reforms, and particularly promises of reforms, pursue only one aim: to allay the unrest of the people, force the revolutionary class to cease, or at least slacken, its struggle.

The Russian revolutionary Social-Democracy was well aware of the real nature of this grant of an illusory constitution in August 1905. That is why, without a moment's hesitation, it issued the slogans: "Down with the advisory Duma! Boycott the Duma! Down with the tsarist government! Continue the revolutionary struggle to overthrow it! Not the tsar, but a provisional revolutionary government must convene Russia's first real, popular representative assembly!"

History proved that the revolutionary Social-Democrats were right, for the *Bulygin Duma* was never convened. It was swept away by the revolutionary storm before it could be convened. And this storm forced the tsar to promulgate a new electoral law, which provided for a considerable increase in the number of voters, and to recognise the legislative character of the Duma.*

October and December 1905 marked the highest point in the rising tide of the Russian revolution. All the wellsprings of the people's revolutionary strength flowed in a wider stream than ever before. The number of strikers—which in January 1905, as I have already told you, was 440,000—reached over half a million in October 1905 (in a single month!). To this number, which applies *only* to factory workers, must be added several hundred thousand railway workers, postal and telegraph employees, etc.

The general railway strike stopped all rail traffic and paralysed the power of the government in the most effective

* In the manuscript the four preceding paragraphs are crossed out.—*Ed.*

manner. The doors of the universities were flung wide open, and the lecture halls, which in peace time were used solely to befuddle youthful minds with pedantic professorial wisdom and to turn the students into docile servants of the bourgeoisie and tsarism, now became the scene of public meetings at which thousands of workers, artisans and office workers openly and freely discussed political issues.

Freedom of the press was won. The censorship was simply ignored. No publisher dared send the obligatory censor copy to the authorities, and the authorities did not dare take any measure against this. For the first time in Russian history, revolutionary newspapers appeared freely in St. Petersburg and other towns. In St. Petersburg alone, three Social-Democratic daily papers were published, with circulations ranging from 50,000 to 100,000.

The proletariat marched at the head of the movement. It set out to win the eight-hour day by revolutionary action. "*An Eight-Hour Day and Arms*!" was the fighting slogan of the St. Petersburg proletariat. That the fate of the revolution could, and would, be decided only by armed struggle was becoming obvious to an ever-increasing mass of workers.

In the fire of battle, a peculiar mass organisation was formed, the famous *Soviets of Workers' Deputies*, comprising delegates from all factories. In several cities these *Soviets of Workers' Deputies* began more and more to play the part of a provisional revolutionary government, the part of organs and leaders of the uprising. Attempts were made to organise Soviets of Soldiers' and Sailors' Deputies and to combine them with the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

For a time several cities in Russia became something in the nature of small local "republics". The government authorities were deposed and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies actually functioned as the new government. Unfortunately, these periods were all too brief, the "victories" were too weak, too isolated.

The peasant movement in the autumn of 1905 reached still greater dimensions. *Over one-third* of all the uyezds were affected by the so-called "peasant disorders" and regular peasant uprisings. The peasants burned down no less than

two thousand estates and distributed among themselves the food stocks of which the predatory nobility had robbed the people.

Unfortunately, this work was not thorough enough! Unfortunately, the peasants destroyed only one-fifteenth of the total number of landed estates, only one-fifteenth part of what they *should have* destroyed in order to wipe the shame of large feudal landownership from the face of the Russian earth. Unfortunately, the peasants were too scattered, too isolated from each other in their actions; they were not organised enough, not aggressive enough, and therein lies one of the fundamental reasons for the defeat of the revolution.

A movement for national liberation flared up among the oppressed peoples of Russia. *Over one-half, almost three-fifths* (*to be exact, 57 per cent*) of the population of Russia is subject to national oppression; they are not even free to use their native language, they are forcibly Russified. The Moslems, for instance, who number tens of millions, were quick to organise a Moslem League—this was a time of rapid growth of all manner of organisations.

The following instance will give the audience, particularly the youth, an example of how at that time the movement for national liberation in Russia rose in conjunction with the labour movement.

In December 1905, Polish children in hundreds of schools burned all Russian books, pictures and portraits of the tsar, and attacked and drove out the Russian teachers and their Russian schoolfellows, shouting: "Get out! Go back to Russia!" The Polish secondary school pupils put forward, among others, the following demands: (1) all secondary schools must be under the control of a Soviet of Workers' Deputies; (2) joint pupils' and workers' meetings to be held in school premises; (3) secondary school pupils to be allowed to wear red blouses as a token of adherence to the future proletarian republic.

The higher the tide of the movement rose, the more vigorously and decisively did the reaction arm itself to fight the revolution. The Russian Revolution of 1905 confirmed the truth of what Karl Kautsky wrote in 1902 in his book *Social Revolution* (he was still, incidentally, a revolutionary

Marxist and not, as at present, a champion of social-patriotism and opportunism). This is what he wrote:

"...The impending revolution ... will be less like a spontaneous uprising against the government and more like a protracted *civil war*."

That is how it was, and undoubtedly that is how it will be in the coming European revolution!

Tsarism vented its hatred particularly upon the Jews. On the one hand, the Jews furnished a particularly high percentage (compared with the total Jewish population) of leaders of the revolutionary movement. And now, too, it should be noted to the credit of the Jews, they furnish a relatively high percentage of internationalists, compared with other nations. On the other hand, tsarism adroitly exploited the basest anti-Jewish prejudices of the most ignorant strata of the population in order to organise, if not to lead directly, *pogroms*—over 4,000 were killed and more than 10,000 mutilated in 100 towns. These atrocious massacres of peaceful Jews, their wives and children roused disgust throughout the civilised world. I have in mind, of course, the disgust of the truly democratic elements of the civilised world, and these are *exclusively* the socialist workers, the proletarians.

Even in the freest, even in the republican countries of Western Europe, the bourgeoisie manages very well to combine its hypocritical phrases about "Russian atrocities" with the most shameless financial transactions, particularly with financial support of tsarism and imperialist exploitation of Russia through export of capital, etc.

The climax of the 1905 Revolution came in the December uprising in Moscow. For nine days a small number of rebels, of organised and armed workers—there were not more than *eight thousand*—fought against the tsar's government, which dared not trust the Moscow garrison. In fact, it had to keep it locked up, and was able to quell the rebellion only by bringing in the Semenovsky Regiment from St. Petersburg.

The bourgeoisie likes to describe the Moscow uprising as something artificial, and to treat it with ridicule. For instance, in German so-called "scientific" literature, Herr Professor Max Weber, in his lengthy survey of Russia's political development, refers to the Moscow uprising as a

"putsch". "The Lenin group," says this "highly learned" Herr Professor, "and a section of the Socialist-Revolutionaries had long prepared for this *senseless* uprising."

To properly assess this piece of professorial wisdom of the cowardly bourgeoisie, one need only recall the strike statistics. In January 1905, only 123,000 were involved in purely political strikes, in October the figure was 330,000, and *in December the maximum was reached—370,000* taking part in purely political strikes in a single month! Let us recall, too, the progress of the revolution, the peasant and soldier uprisings, and we shall see that the bourgeois "scientific" view of the December uprising is not only absurd. It is a subterfuge resorted to by the representatives of the cowardly bourgeoisie, which sees in the proletariat its most dangerous class enemy.

In reality, the inexorable trend of the Russian revolution was towards an armed, decisive battle between the tsarist government and the vanguard of the class-conscious proletariat.

I have already pointed out, in my previous remarks, wherein lay the weakness of the Russian revolution that led to its temporary defeat.

The suppression of the December uprising marked the beginning of the ebb of the revolution. But in this period, too, extremely interesting moments are to be observed. Suffice it to recall that twice the foremost militant elements of the working class tried to check the retreat of the revolution and to prepare a new offensive.

But my time has nearly expired, and I do not want to abuse the patience of my audience. I think, however, that I have outlined the most important aspects of the revolution—its class character, its driving forces and its methods of struggle—as fully as so big a subject can be dealt with in a brief lecture.*

A few brief remarks concerning the world significance of the Russian revolution.

Geographically, economically and historically, Russia belongs not only to Europe, but also to Asia. That is why the Russian revolution succeeded not only in finally

* In the manuscript this sentence is crossed out.—*Ed.*

awakening Europe's biggest and most backward country and in creating a revolutionary people led by a revolutionary proletariat.

It achieved more than that. The Russian revolution engendered a movement throughout the whole of Asia. The revolutions in Turkey, Persia and China prove that the mighty uprising of 1905 left a deep imprint, and that its influence, expressed in the forward movement of *hundreds and hundreds* of millions, is ineradicable.

In an indirect way, the Russian revolution influenced also the countries of the West. One must not forget that news of the tsar's constitutional manifesto, on reaching Vienna on October 30, 1905, played a decisive part in the final victory of universal suffrage in Austria.

A telegram bearing the news was placed on the speaker's rostrum at the Congress of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party just as Comrade Ellenbogen—at that time he was not yet a social-patriot, but a comrade—was delivering his report on the political strike. The discussion was immediately adjourned. "Our place is in the streets!"—was the cry that resounded through the hall where the delegates of the Austrian Social-Democracy were assembled. And the following days witnessed the biggest street demonstrations in Vienna and barricades in Prague. The battle for universal suffrage in Austria was won.

We very often meet West-Europeans who talk of the Russian revolution as if events, the course and methods of struggle in that backward country have very little resemblance to West-European patterns, and, therefore, can hardly have any practical significance.

Nothing could he more erroneous.

The forms and occasions for the impending battles in the coming European revolution will doubtlessly differ in many respects from the forms of the Russian revolution.

Nevertheless, the Russian revolution—precisely because of its proletarian character, in that particular sense of which I have spoken—is the *prologue* to the coming European revolution. Undoubtedly, this coming revolution can only be a proletarian revolution, and in an even more profound sense of the word: a proletarian, socialist revolution also in its content. This coming revolution will show to

an even greater degree, on the one hand, that only stern battles, only civil wars, can free humanity from the yoke of capital, and, on the other hand, that only class-conscious proletarians can and will give leadership to the vast majority of the exploited.

We must not be deceived by the present grave-like stillness in Europe. Europe is pregnant with revolution. The monstrous horrors of the imperialist war, the suffering caused by the high cost of living everywhere engender a revolutionary mood; and the ruling classes, the bourgeoisie, and its servitors, the governments, are more and more moving into a blind alley from which they can never extricate themselves without tremendous upheavals.

Just as in Russia in 1905, a popular uprising against the tsarist government began under the leadership of the proletariat with the aim of achieving a democratic republic, so, in Europe, the coming years, precisely because of this predatory war, will lead to popular uprisings under the leadership of the proletariat against the power of finance capital, against the big banks, against the capitalists; and these upheavals cannot end otherwise than with the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, with the victory of socialism.

We of the older generation may not live to see the decisive battles of this coming revolution. But I can, I believe, express the confident hope that the youth which is working so splendidly in the socialist movement of Switzerland, and of the whole world, will be fortunate enough not only to fight, but also to win, in the coming proletarian revolution.

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TWELVE BRIEF THESES ON H. GREULICH'S DEFENCE OF FATHERLAND DEFENCE[104]

1. Greulich begins his first article with the statement that there are now "socialists" (he probably means *pseudo*-socialists) who "trust Junker and bourgeois governments".

That accusation of *one* trend in present-day socialism, namely, social-patriotism, is, of course, correct. But what do all Comrade Greulich's four articles show if not that he, too, *blindly* "trusts" the Swiss "bourgeois government"?? He even overlooks the fact that the Swiss "bourgeois government", because of the numerous ties of Swiss banking capital, is not merely a "bourgeois government", but an *imperialist* bourgeois government.

2. In his first article, Greulich admits the existence of two main trends in the international Social-Democratic movement. He defines one (*social-patriotism*, of course) absolutely correctly by branding its supporters "as agents" of bourgeois governments.

But Greulich is strangely oblivious to the facts, first, that the Swiss social-patriots, too, are agents of the Swiss bourgeois government; second, that just as Switzerland in general cannot break out of the network of world-market ties, present-day, highly developed and immensely rich bourgeois Switzerland cannot break out of the network of world-imperialist relationships; third, that it would be well worth while examining the arguments for and against defence of the fatherland as presented throughout the international Social-Democratic movement, particularly in context with these world-imperialist, finance-capital relationships; fourth, that there is no reconciling these two main trends in the international Social-Democratic movement, and, consequent-

ly, the Swiss party *must choose* which trend it wants to follow.

3. In the second article Greulich says: "Switzerland cannot wage an offensive war."

Greulich strangely overlooks the irrefutable and obvious fact that in *both* possible eventualities—namely, if Switzerland joins Germany against England, or England against Germany—in *either* case Switzerland will be participating in an imperialist war, in a predatory war, in an offensive war.

Bourgeois Switzerland can under no circumstances either alter the nature of the present war or, in general, wage an anti-imperialist war.

Is it permissible for Greulich to depart from the "realm of facts" (see his fourth article) and discuss some hypothetical war instead of discussing the *present* one?

4. Greulich states in his second article:

"For Switzerland, neutrality and defence of the fatherland are identical. Whoever rejects defence of the fatherland endangers neutrality. One must appreciate that."

Two modest questions to Comrade Greulich.

First, shouldn't one appreciate the fact that faith in proclamations of neutrality and intentions to maintain it in the present war is tantamount not only to blind faith in one's *own* "bourgeois government" and *other* "bourgeois governments", but is simply absurd?

Second, shouldn't one appreciate that in reality the position is as follows?

Whoever in this war accepts defence of the fatherland becomes an accomplice of his "*own*" national bourgeoisie, which, in Switzerland, too, is a thoroughly imperialist bourgeoisie, since it is financially tied to the Great Powers and is involved in imperialist world politics.

Whoever in this war rejects defence of the fatherland destroys the proletariat's faith in the bourgeoisie and *helps* the international proletariat wage its struggle *against* the bourgeoisie's domination.

5. At the close of his second article Greulich says:

"Abolishing the Swiss militia would not yet mean eliminating war between the Great Powers."

Why does Comrade Greulich overlook the fact that the Social-Democrats conceive abolition of *every* army (and,

consequently, militia) as taking place only *after* a victorious social revolution? That precisely now it is necessary to fight for social revolution in alliance with the internationalist revolutionary minorities in *all* the Great Powers?

From *whom* does Greulich expect elimination of "war between the Great Powers"? From the militia of a small bourgeois state with a four million population?

We Social-Democrats expect elimination of "war between the Great Powers" to result from the revolutionary actions of the proletariat of all the powers, *great* and *small*.

6. In the third article Greulich contends that the Swiss workers must "defend" "democracy"!!

Is Comrade Greulich really unaware that in this war *not a single* European state is defending, nor can defend, democracy? On the contrary, for *all* states, big and small, participation in this imperialist war means *strangling* democracy, the triumph of reaction over democracy. England, Germany, France, etc., offer a thousand examples. Can it really be that Greulich is unaware of them? Or does Comrade Greulich so implicitly trust the Swiss, i.e., his own, "bourgeois government", that he regards all Swiss bank directors and millionaires as veritable William Tells?

Revolutionary struggle against *all* bourgeois governments—that, and that alone, and not participation in the imperialist war, or in national mobilisation allegedly to defend the country's neutrality, can lead to socialism, and without socialism there is no *guarantee* of democracy.

7. Comrade Greulich writes in the third article:

"Does Switzerland expect the proletariat to 'fight against itself in imperialist battles'?"

That question shows that Comrade Greulich has his feet securely planted on national soil, but, unfortunately, in the present war there is *no* such soil for Switzerland.

It is not Switzerland that "expects" this of the proletariat, but capitalism, which in Switzerland, as in all civilised countries, has become *imperialist* capitalism. Today, the ruling bourgeoisie "expects" the proletariat of *all* countries to "fight against itself in imperialist battles". That is what Greulich overlooks. And today there is no means of protecting ourselves against that eventuality save

international revolutionary class struggle against the bourgeoisie!

Why does Greulich forget that, way back in 1912, the Basle Manifesto of the International directly stated, first, that the basic character of the future war is determined by *imperialist* capitalism, and, second, spoke of *proletarian revolution precisely* in connection with *this* war?

8. In the third article Greulich writes:

Revolutionary mass struggle "instead of utilising democratic rights" is a "very vague concept".

This proves that Greulich accepts only the bourgeois-reformist path and rejects or ignores *revolution*. That befits a Grütlian, but it certainly does not befit a Social-Democrat.

Revolution without "revolutionary mass struggle" is impossible. There have never been such revolutions. In the imperialist era that has now begun, revolutions are inevitable in Europe too.

9. In the fourth article Comrade Greulich frankly says he will "naturally" resign from the National Council if the party rejects defence of the fatherland *in principle*, adding that such a rejection would imply "violation of our unity".

That is not open to misinterpretation: it is a clear ultimatum to the party on the part of the social-patriot National Council members. *Either* the party accepts these social-patriot views, *or* "we" (Greulich, Müller, etc.) will resign.

But, frankly, what kind of "unity" can we speak of? Only, of course, of "unity" of the social-patriot leaders with *their* seats on the National Council?!

Principled proletarian unity implies something quite different: the social-patriots, i.e., the defenders of the "fatherland", should "unite" with the social-patriot, thoroughly bourgeois Grütli-Verein. The Social-Democrats, who reject fatherland defence, should "unite" with the socialist proletariat. That is perfectly obvious.

We firmly hope that Comrade Greulich will not wish to disgrace himself by trying to disprove (despite the experience of England, Germany, Sweden, etc.) that "unity" of the social-patriots, those "agents" of bourgeois governments, with the socialist proletariat can lead only to sheer disorganisation, demoralisation, hypocrisy and lies.

10. The "pledge" of National Council members to defend the country's independence is "incompatible", in Greulich's view, with refusal to defend the country.

Very well! But what revolutionary activity is "compatible" with "pledges" to uphold the laws of capitalist states?? The Grütlians, i.e., servants of the bourgeoisie, recognise only legal methods as a matter of principle. So far, not a single Social-Democrat has rejected revolution, or accepted only such revolutions as were "compatible" with "pledges" to uphold bourgeois laws.

11. Greulich denies that Switzerland is a "bourgeois class state" "in the absolute meaning of the term". He defines socialism (at the end of his fourth article) in a way that wholly precludes both social revolution and all revolutionary action. Social revolution is "utopian"—that is the short meaning of all Greulich's long speeches and articles.

Very well! But that is the most blatant Grütlianism, not socialism. It is bourgeois reformism, not socialism.

Why does not Comrade Greulich openly propose that the words about "proletarian revolution" be deleted from the 1912 Basle Manifesto? Or the words about "revolutionary mass action" from the 1915 Aarau resolution? Or that all the Zimmerwald and Kienthal resolutions be burned?

12. Comrade Greulich has both feet planted on national soil—on bourgeois-reformist, Grütli soil.

He obstinately ignores the imperialist character of the present war and the imperialist ties of the present-day Swiss bourgeoisie. He ignores the fact that the socialists of the whole world are split into social-patriots and revolutionary internationalists.

He forgets that, in reality, *only* two paths are open to the Swiss proletariat:

First path. Help its own national bourgeoisie to arm, support mobilisation for the alleged purpose of defending neutrality, and face the daily menace of being inveigled into the imperialist war. In the event of "victory" in this war—be reduced to semi-starvation, record the loss of 100,000 killed, put more billions of war profits into the pockets of the Swiss bourgeoisie, assure it more profitable investments abroad, and fall into more financial dependence on its imperialist "allies"—the Great Powers.

Second path. In close alliance with the internationalist revolutionary minority in all the Great Powers, wage a resolute struggle against all "bourgeois governments", and primarily against its *own* "bourgeois government", placing no "trust" whatever in its own bourgeois government, or in its talk of defending neutrality, and politely invite the social-patriots to move over to the Grütli-Verein.

In the event of victory—be for ever rid of high costs of living, hunger and war and, together with the French, German and other workers, stage the socialist revolution.

Both paths are difficult, both entail sacrifices.

The Swiss proletariat must choose—does it want to make these sacrifices for the sake of the Swiss imperialist bourgeoisie and one of the Great-Power coalitions, or to deliver humanity from capitalism, hunger and war.

The proletariat must choose.

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Signed: —e—

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DEFENCE OF NEUTRALITY

Acceptance of the proposition that the present war is imperialist, i.e., a war between two big freebooters for world domination and plunder, does not yet prove that we should reject defence of the Swiss fatherland. We, Swiss, are defending our neutrality; we have stationed troops on our boundaries for the express purpose of avoiding participation in this robber war!

This is the argument of the social-patriots, the Grütlians, both within the Socialist Party and outside it.

It is based on the following tacitly accepted or dexterously manipulated promises.

Uncritical repetition of what the bourgeoisie says, and what it has to say, to maintain its class domination.

Complete trust in the bourgeoisie and complete distrust of the proletariat.

Disregard of the real, rather than imaginary, international situation resulting from the imperialist pattern of European relationships and the imperialist "tie-up" of the Swiss capitalist class.

Did not the Rumanian and Bulgarian bourgeoisie give the most solemn assurances, over a period of many months, that their military preparations were dictated "solely" by the need to safeguard their neutrality?

Is there any serious, scientific basis for drawing a *fundamental* distinction, on this issue, between the bourgeoisie of the afore-mentioned countries and that of Switzerland?

Certainly not. The Rumanian and Bulgarian bourgeoisie, we are told, are notoriously obsessed by a lust for conquest and annexation, and this does not apply to the Swiss bourgeoisie. But that cannot be considered a *fundamental* distinction. Imperialist interests are manifested, as everyone knows, not only in territorial, but also in *financial* acqui-

sitions. It should be borne in mind that the Swiss bourgeoisie exports capital, no less than 3,000 million francs a year, i.e., imperialistically exploits backward nations. That is a fact, and another fact is that Swiss banking capital is intimately associated and intertwined with the banking capital of the Great Powers, that the Swiss Fremdenindustrie,* etc., represent a permanent *division* of imperialist wealth between the Great Powers and Switzerland. Moreover, Switzerland has reached a much higher level of capitalist development than Rumania and Bulgaria. There can be no question whatever of a popular "national" movement in Switzerland: that period in its historical development ended many centuries ago. This cannot be said of either of the Balkan states referred to above.

It therefore befits the bourgeois to try to instil in the people, in the exploited, faith in the bourgeoisie of his own country and use plausible phrases to conceal the *realities* of its imperialist policies.

Something quite different, however, is expected of the socialist, namely: merciless exposure that leaves no room for illusions about the real policies of his "own" bourgeoisie. And continuation of these real policies by the Swiss bourgeoisie, such as *selling* the nation to one of the imperialist coalitions of states, is much more probable and much more "natural" (i.e., more in conformity with the nature of this bourgeoisie) than defence of democracy in the true sense of the word, which would be contrary to its profit interests.

"To each his own": let the Grütlians, as servants and agents of the bourgeoisie, deceive the people with phrases about "defending neutrality".

Socialists, on the other hand, as fighters against the bourgeoisie, must open the people's eyes to the very real danger, proved by the whole history of Swiss bourgeois politics, of being *sold* by their "own" bourgeoisie!

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* Industries catering to foreigners.—*Ed.*

A TURN IN WORLD POLITICS

There is something of a holiday atmosphere in the pacifist camp. The virtuous bourgeois of the neutral countries are rejoicing: "We've made our little pile out of war profits and high prices; isn't it time to stop? We can't make more profits anyway, and the people's patience may not last to the very end."

Why shouldn't they rejoice when Wilson "himself" "paraphrases" the pacifist declaration of the Italian Socialist Party, which only just recently passed an official and solemn resolution in Kienthal to the effect that social-pacifism is utterly unsound?

Is it surprising that in *Avanti!* Turati exults at Wilson's having paraphrased *their*, Italian, "pseudo-socialist" pacifist phrases? Is it surprising that, in *Le Populaire*,[105] the French social-pacifists and Kautskyites lovingly "unite" with Turati and Kautsky, who published in the German Social-Democratic press five particularly foolish pacifist articles, which also, of course, "paraphrase" the talk events have brought to the fore about a nice little democratic peace?

And the present talk does differ from the previous talk in that there is some *objective* ground for it. This ground was created by the turn in world politics from *imperialist war*, which brought the peoples utter misery and the greatest betrayal of socialism by Messrs. Plekhanov, Albert Thomas, Legien, Scheidemann, etc., towards an *imperialist peace*, which will bring the peoples the greatest deception in the form of pious phrases, semi-reforms, semi-concessions, etc.

This turn has taken place.

One cannot know at the present moment—even those who direct imperialist policy, the financial kings and the crowned

robbers, are not in a position to determine this exactly—when this imperialist peace will come, what changes in the course of the war will precede it, what the details of that peace will be. Nor is that important. What is important is the *fact* that a turn towards peace has been made; the important thing is the *fundamental character* of that peace. And these two circumstances have been made sufficiently clear by the preceding development of events.

In the twenty-nine months of war, the extent of the resources of both imperialist coalitions has become sufficiently evident. All, or nearly all, possible allies of any importance among the nearest "neighbours" have been drawn into the slaughter; the strength of the armies and navies has been tested and re-tested, measured and re-measured. Finance capital has made billions: the mountain of war debts shows the extent of the tribute the proletariat and the propertyless masses "must" now pay for decades to the international bourgeoisie for having graciously permitted them to kill off millions of their fellow wage-slaves in a war for the division of imperialist booty.

It is probably impossible, in the *present* war, to skin the oxen of wage-labour any more than has been done already—this is one of the profound economic reasons for the turn we now observe in world politics. It is impossible, because all resources in general are becoming exhausted. The American multimillionaires and their younger brethren in Holland, Switzerland, Denmark and other neutral countries are beginning to notice that the gold mine is giving out. That is behind the growth of neutral pacifism, and not noble humanitarian sentiments, as the naïve, wretched and ridiculous Turati, Kautsky and Co. think.

Added to this is the growing discontent and anger among the masses. In our last issue we quoted the evidence of Guchkov and Helfferich,[106] showing that both *dread* revolution. Is it not about time to stop the first imperialist slaughter?

The objective conditions compelling cessation of the war are thus supplemented by the influence of the class instinct and class interests of the profit-glutted bourgeoisie.

The political turn based on this economic turn follows two main lines: victorious Germany is *driving a wedge*

between her main enemy, England, and England's allies. She is able to do this because it is these allies and not England who have sustained (and may yet sustain) the heaviest blows, and also because German imperialism, having amassed a considerable amount of loot, is in a position to make minor concessions to England's allies.

It is possible that a separate peace between Germany and Russia *has been concluded* after all. Only the *form* of the political pact between those two freebooters may have been changed. The tsar may have told Wilhelm: "If I openly sign a separate peace, then tomorrow, you, my august partner, may have to deal with a government of Milyukov and Guchkov, if not of Milyukov and Kerensky. For the revolution is growing, and I cannot answer for the army, whose generals are in correspondence with Guchkov and whose officers are mainly yesterday's high-school boys. Is there any point in my risking my throne and your losing a good partner?"

"Of course not," Wilhelm must have replied, if such a suggestion was put to him, directly or indirectly. "Indeed, why should we conclude an open separate peace, or any written peace treaty? Can't we achieve the same results by other, more subtle means? I will openly appeal to all humanity, offering to bestow upon it the blessings of peace. At the same time I will drop a quiet hint to the French, to let them know that I am prepared to give back all, or nearly all of France and Belgium in return for a 'fair' share of their African colonies. I will let the Italians know that they can count on scraps of Austria's Italian lands and, in addition, on a few scraps in the Balkans. And I can bring these proposals and plans to the knowledge of the peoples: will the English be able to retain their West-European allies after that? You and I will then divide Rumania, Galicia, Armenia. As for Constantinople, my august brother, you stand as much chance of seeing it as of seeing your own ears! And Poland too, my august brother—you stand as much chance of seeing it as of seeing your own ears!"

Whether or not such a conversation actually took place it is impossible to say. Nor does it matter very much. What does matter is that events have taken *precisely* this turn. If the arguments of the German diplomats were unable to

convince the tsar, the "*arguments*" of Mackensen's army in Rumania must have been more convincing.

The plan to divide Rumania between Russia and the "Quadruple Alliance" (i.e., Germany's allies, Austria and Bulgaria) is already being *openly* discussed in the German imperialist press! Loquacious Hervé is already blurting out: It will be impossible to compel the people to fight any longer if they learn that we can get back Belgium and France *immediately*. The pacifist simpletons of the neutral bourgeoisie have already been put "into action": Wilhelm has loosened their tongues! And the pacifist ... wiseacres among the socialists, Turati in Italy, Kautsky in Germany, etc., etc., are exerting all their humanitarianism, their love of humanity, their celestial virtue (and their high intellect) to *embellish* the coming imperialist peace!

In general, how well things are arranged in this best of all possible worlds! We, the financial kings and crowned robbers, got ourselves entangled in the politics of imperialist plunder; we had to fight. Well, what of it? We are making as good a thing out of war as we make out of peace; a much better thing, in fact! And we have lackeys in plenty, all the Plekhanovs, Albert Thomases, Legiens, Scheidemanns and Co., to proclaim ours a "liberation" war! The time is coming to conclude an imperialist peace? Well, suppose it is? There are the war debts. Aren't they obligations guaranteeing our sacred right to exact a hundredfold tribute from the peoples? And aren't there simpletons to *glorify* this imperialist peace, to fool the peoples by sentimental speeches? We have them in plenty—Turati, Kautsky and the other "leaders" of world socialism.

The tragicomedy of Turati's and Kautsky's utterances is precisely that they *do not understand* the *real* objective, political role they are playing, the role of parsons to *console* the people instead of rousing them to revolution, the role of *bourgeois advocates*, who by means of flamboyant phrases about good things in general, and a democratic peace in particular, obscure, cover up, embellish and cloak the hideous nakedness of an imperialist peace that trades in nations and carves up countries.

What *unites* the social-chauvinists (the Plekhanovs and Scheidemanns) and the social-pacifists (Turati and Kautsky)

in principle is that *objectively* both are *servants* of imperialism. The former serve it by glorifying the imperialist war, describing it as a war for "defence of the fatherland"; the latter serve the *same* imperialism by glorifying, with their talk of a democratic peace, the imperialist peace that is maturing and being prepared.

The imperialist bourgeoisie needs lackeys of both species and varieties: the Plekhanovs, to encourage the continuation of the slaughter by shouting "Down with the conquerors"; the Kautskys, to console and placate the embittered masses by sweet songs of peace.

Hence the general amalgamation of the social-chauvinists of all countries with the social-pacifists—the general "conspiracy against socialism" referred to in the manifesto of the Berne International Socialist Committee,[107] the "general amnesty" to which we have more than once referred—will not be an accident, but an expression of the unity on principle of *both these* trends of world pseudo-"socialism". It is no accident that Plekhanov, while shouting frantically about the "treachery" of the Scheidemanns, hints at peace and unity with those gentry when the time is ripe for it.

The reader may argue, can we forget that an imperialist peace is "after all better" than imperialist war? that, if not the whole, then at least "parts" of the democratic peace programme might possibly be achieved? that an independent Poland is better than a Russian Poland? that integration in Italy of Austrian-held Italian territory is a step forward?

But these are exactly the arguments defenders of Turati and Kautsky use as a cover, failing to see that this transforms them from revolutionary Marxists into ordinary bourgeois reformists.

Can anyone in his right mind deny that Bismarck Germany and her social laws are "better" than pre-1848 Germany? that the Stolypin reforms[108] are "better" than pre-1905 Russia? Did the German Social-Democrats (they were still Social-Democrats at that time) vote for Bismarck's reforms on these grounds? Were Stolypin's reforms extolled, or even supported, by the Russian Social-Democrats, except, of course, for Messrs. Potresov, Maslov and Co., from whom even Martov, a member of *their own party*, now turns away with contempt?

History does not stand still even in times of counter-revolution. History has been advancing even during the imperialist slaughter of 1914-16, which is a *continuation* of the imperialist policies of preceding decades. World capitalism, which in the sixties and seventies of the last century was an advanced and progressive force of free competition, and which at the beginning of the twentieth century grew into *monopoly* capitalism, i.e., imperialism, took a big step *forward* during the war, not only towards greater concentration of finance capital, but also towards transformation into *state capitalism*. The force of national cohesion, the significance of national sympathies, were revealed in this war, for example, by the conduct of the Irish in one imperialist coalition, and of the Czechs in the other. The intelligent leaders of imperialism say to themselves: Of course, we cannot achieve our aims without throttling the small nations; but there are two ways of doing that. Sometimes the more reliable and profitable way is to obtain the services of sincere and conscientious advocates of "fatherland defence" in an imperialist war by creating *politically* independent states; "we", of course, will see to it that they are *financially dependent*! It is more profitable (when imperialist powers are engaged in a major war) to be an ally of an independent Bulgaria than the master of a dependent Ireland! To complete what has been left undone in the realm of national reforms may sometimes internally strengthen an imperialist coalition—this is properly taken into account by, for instance, one of the most servile lackeys of German imperialism, Karl Renner, who, of course, is a staunch supporter of "unity" in the Social-Democratic parties in general, and of unity with Scheidemann and Kautsky in particular.

The objective course of events is having its effect, and just as the executioners of the 1848 and 1905 revolutions were, in a certain sense, their executors, so the stage managers of the imperialist slaughter are *compelled* to carry out certain state-capitalist, certain national reforms. Moreover, it is necessary, by throwing out a few sops, to *pacify* the masses, angered by the war and the high cost of living: why not promise (and partly carry out, for it does not commit one to anything!) "reduction of armaments"? After all, war is a "branch of industry" similar to forestry: it takes decades

for trees of proper size—that is to say, for a sufficiently abundant supply of adult "cannon fodder"—to grow up. During these decades, we hope, new Plekhanovs, new Scheidemanns, new sentimental conciliators like Kautsky will grow up from the depths of "united" international Social-Democracy.

Bourgeois reformists and pacifists are people who, as a general rule, are *paid*, in one form or another, to strengthen the rule of capitalism by patching it up, to lull the masses and divert them from the revolutionary struggle. When socialist "leaders" like Turati and Kautsky try to convince the masses, either by direct statements (Turati "blurted" one out in his notorious speech of December 17, 1916[109]), or by *silent evasions* (of which Kautsky is a past master), that the present imperialist war can result in a democratic peace, while the bourgeois governments *remain in power* and without a revolutionary insurrection against the whole network of imperialist world relations, it is our duty to declare that such propaganda is a deception of the people, that it has nothing in common with socialism, that it amounts to the embellishment of an *imperialist* peace.

We are *for* a democratic peace; and that is precisely why we do not want to lie to the peoples as Turati and Kautsky do—of course with the best intentions, and for the most virtuous motives! We shall tell the *truth*, namely, that a democratic peace is impossible unless the revolutionary proletariat of England, France, Germany and Russia overthrows the bourgeois governments. We think it would be the height of absurdity for revolutionary Social-Democrats to refrain from fighting for reforms in general, including "constitutional reform". But at the present moment, Europe is going through a period in which it is more than ever necessary to bear in mind the truth that *reforms are a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle*; for the task of the day—not because we want it, not because of anybody's plans, but because of the objective course of events—is to solve the great historical problems by means of direct mass violence, which will create new foundations, and not by means of agreements on the basis of the old, decaying and moribund.

It is precisely at the present time, when the ruling bourgeoisie is preparing peacefully to disarm millions of prole-

tarians and to transfer them safely—under cover of a plausible ideology, and sprinkling them with the holy water of sentimental pacifist phrases!—from the filthy, stinking, fetid trenches, where they were engaged in slaughter, to the penal servitude of the capitalist factories, where by their "honest toil" they must repay the hundreds of millions of national debt, it is precisely at this time that the slogan, which our Party issued to the people in the autumn of 1914,* viz., transform the imperialist war into a civil war for socialism, acquires still greater significance than it had at the beginning of the war. Karl Liebknecht, now sentenced to hard labour, adopted that slogan when he said from the Reichstag tribune: "Turn your weapons against your class enemies within the country!" The extent to which present-day society has matured for the transition to socialism has been demonstrated by this war, in which the exertion of national effort called for the direction of the economic life of over fifty million people from a *single* centre. If this is possible under the leadership of a handful of Junker aristocrats in the interests of a handful of financial magnates, it is certainly no less possible under the leadership of class-conscious workers in the interests of nine-tenths of the population, exhausted by starvation and war.

But to lead the masses, the class-conscious workers must understand the utter corruption of such socialist leaders as Turati, Kautsky and Co. These gentlemen imagine they are revolutionary Social-Democrats, and they are very indignant when they are told that their place is in the party of Messrs. Bissolati, Scheidemann, Legien and Co. But Turati and Kautsky wholly fail to realise that only a revolution of the masses can solve the great problems of the day. They have not a grain of faith in the revolution, they do not pay the slightest attention to, or display the slightest interest in, the way it is maturing in the minds and moods of the masses precisely in connection with the war. Their attention is entirely absorbed in reforms, in pacts between sections of the ruling classes; it is to them that they address themselves, it is them they seek to "persuade", it is to them they wish to adapt the labour movement.

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* See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 25-34.—*Ed.*

But the whole thing now is to get the class-conscious vanguard of the proletariat to direct its thoughts to, and muster its forces for, a revolutionary struggle to overthrow their governments. Revolutions such as Turati and Kautsky are "prepared" to accept, i.e., revolutions for which the date and the chances of success can be set in advance, never happen. The revolutionary situation in Europe is a fact. The extreme discontent, the unrest and anger of the masses are facts. It is on strengthening *this* torrent that revolutionary Social-Democrats must concentrate all their efforts. Upon the strength of the revolutionary movement, in the event of its not being entirely successful, will depend what portion of the "promised" reforms will be realised in practice, and what use they will be for the further struggle of the working class. Upon the strength of the revolutionary movement, in the event of its being entirely successful, will depend the victory of socialism in Europe and the achievement not of an imperialist armistice in Germany's struggle against Russia and England, or in Russia's and Germany's struggle against England, or the United States' struggle against Germany and England, etc., but of a really lasting and really democratic peace.

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STATISTICS AND SOCIOLOGY[110]

FOREWORD

Of the essays here presented for the reader's attention, some are published for the first time, others appeared in various periodicals before the war. They deal with a question which now, naturally, arouses especial interest—the significance and role of national movements, the relationship between the national and the international. The biggest drawback, one most frequently encountered in all the arguments on this question, is lack of concreteness and historical perspective. It has become customary to smuggle in every manner of contraband under cover of general phrases. We believe, therefore, that a few statistics will prove anything but superfluous. A comparison with the lessons of the war of what we said before the war is not, in our view. unuseful. Unity of theory and perspective gives the essays continuity.

January 1917

The Author

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

Facts are stubborn things, runs the English saying. It comes to mind, in particular, when a certain author waxes enthusiastic about the greatness of the "nationality principle" in its different implications and relationships. What is more, in most cases the "principle" is applied just as aptly, and is just as much in place, as the exclamation "many happy

returns of the day," by a certain folk-tale character at the sight of a funeral.

Precise facts, indisputable facts—they are especially abhorrent to this type of author, but are especially necessary if we want to form a proper understanding of this complicated, difficult and often deliberately confused question. But how to gather the facts? How to establish their connection and interdependence?

The most widely used, and most fallacious, method in the realm of social phenomena is to tear out *individual* minor facts and juggle with examples. Selecting chance examples presents no difficulty at all, but is of no value, or of purely negative value, for in each individual case everything hinges on the historically concrete situation. Facts, if we take them in their *entirety*, in their *interconnection*, are not only stubborn things, but undoubtedly proof-bearing things. Minor facts, if taken out of their entirety, out of their interconnection, if they are arbitrarily selected and torn out of context, are merely things for juggling, or even worse. For instance, when an author who was once a serious author and wishes to be regarded as such now too takes the fact of the Mongolian yoke and presents it as an example that explains certain events in twentieth-century Europe, can this be considered merely juggling, or would it not be more correct to consider it political chicanery? The Mongolian yoke is a fact of history, and one doubtlessly connected with the national question, just as in twentieth-century Europe we observe a number of facts likewise doubtlessly connected with this question. But you will find few people—of the type the French describe as "national clowns"—who would venture, while claiming to be serious, to use this fact of the Mongolian yoke as an illustration of events in twentieth-century Europe.

The inference is clear: we must seek to build a reliable foundation of precise and indisputable facts that can be confronted to any of the "general" or "example-based" arguments now so grossly misused in certain countries. And if it is to be a real foundation, we must take not individual facts, but the *sum total* of facts, without *a single* exception, relating to the question under discussion. Otherwise there will be the inevitable, and fully justified, suspicion that the facts were selected or compiled arbitrarily, that instead of his-

torical phenomena being presented in objective interconnection and interdependence and treated as a whole, we are presenting a "subjective" concoction to justify what might prove to be a dirty business. This does happen ... and more often than one might think.

Proceeding from these considerations, we have decided to begin with statistics, fully aware of course that statistics are deeply antipathetic to certain readers, who prefer "flattering deception" to "base truths", and to certain authors, who are prone to smuggle in political contraband under cover of "general" disquisitions about internationalism, cosmopolitanism, nationalism, patriotism, etc.

CHAPTER 1
A FEW STATISTICS

I

For a proper survey of the *whole* complex of data on national movements, we must take the *whole* population of the earth. And in so doing, two criteria must be established with the utmost accuracy and examined with the utmost fullness: first, national homogeneity or heterogeneity of the population of various states; second, division of states (or of state-like formations in cases where there is doubt that we are really dealing with a state) into politically independent and politically dependent.

Let us take the very latest data, published in 1916, and rely on two sources: one German, the *Geographical Statistical Tables* compiled by Otto Hübner, and one English, *The Statesman's Year-Book*. The first source will have to serve as a basis, for it contains much more comprehensive data on the question that interests us; the second we shall use to check and in some, mostly minor, cases to correct the first.

We shall begin our survey with the politically independent and nationally most homogeneous states. First and foremost among these is a group of *West*-European states, i.e., situated to the west of Russia and Austria.

Here we have 17 states of which five, however, though very homogeneous in national composition, are Lilliputian in size and population. These are Luxembourg, Monaco, San

Marino, Liechtenstein and Andorra, with a combined population of only 310,000. Doubtlessly, it would be much more correct not to include them among the states under examination. Of the remaining 12 states, seven are absolutely homogeneous in national composition: in Italy, Holland, Portugal, Sweden, and Norway, 99 per cent of the population are of one and the same nationality; in Spain and Denmark the proportion is 96 per cent. Then come three states with a nearly homogeneous national composition: France, England and Germany. In France, the Italians make up only 1.3 per cent, in areas annexed by Napoleon III by violating and falsifying the will of their people. England's annexed territory, Ireland, has a population of 4.4 million, which is less than one-tenth of the total (46.8 million). In Germany, out of a population of 64.9 million, the non-German element, which in practically all cases is just as nationally oppressed as the Irish in England, is represented by the Poles (5.47 per cent), Danes (0.25 per cent) and the population of Alsace-Lorrain (1.87 million). However, part of the latter (the exact proportion is not known) undoubtedly incline towards Germany, due not only to language, but also to economic interests and sympathies. All in all, about 5 million of Germany's population belong to alien, unequal and even oppressed nations.

Only two small states in Western Europe are of mixed national composition: Switzerland, whose population of somewhat less than four million consists of Germans (69 per cent), French (21 per cent) and Italians (8 per cent)—and Belgium (population less than 8 million; probably about 53 per cent Flemings and about 47 per cent French). It should be observed, however, that in spite of the high national heterogeneity in these countries, there can be no question of national oppression. In both countries all nationalities are equal under the constitution; in Switzerland this equality is fully implemented in practice; in Belgium there is inequality in relation to the Flemish population, though they make up the majority, but this inequality is insignificant compared, for instance, with what the Poles have to put up with in Germany, or the Irish in England, not to mention what has become customary in countries outside this group. That is why, incidentally, the term "state of

nationalities", to which the Austrian authors Karl Renner and Otto Bauer, opportunists on the national question, have given such wide currency, is correct only in a very restricted sense. Namely, if, on the one hand, we remember the special historical place of the majority of the countries of this type (which we shall discuss later) and, on the other, if we do not allow this term to obscure the fundamental difference between genuine national equality and national oppression.

Taking all the countries we have discussed, we get a group of 12 West-European states with a total population of 242 million. Of these 242 million only about 9.5 million, i.e., only 4 per cent, represent oppressed nations (in England and Germany). If we add together those sections of the population in all these countries that do not belong to the principal nationalities, we get about 15 million, i.e., 6 per cent.

On the whole, consequently, this group of states is characterised by the following: they are the most advanced capitalist countries, the most developed both economically and politically. Their cultural level, too, is the highest. In national composition most of these countries are homogeneous or nearly homogeneous. National inequality, as a specific political phenomenon, plays a very insignificant part. What we have is the type of "national state" people so often refer to, oblivious, in most cases, to the historically conditional and transitory character of this type in the general capitalist development of mankind. But that will be dealt with in its proper place.

It might be asked: Is this type of state confined to Western Europe? Obviously not. All its basic characteristics—economic (high and particularly rapid capitalist development), political (representative government), cultural and national—are to be observed also in the advanced states of America and Asia: the United States and Japan. The latter's national composition took shape long ago and is absolutely homogeneous: Japanese make up more than 99 per cent of the population. In the United States, the Negroes (and also the Mulattos and Indians) account for only 11.1 per cent. They should be classed as an oppressed nation, for the equality won in the Civil War of 1861-65 and guaranteed by the Constitution of the republic was in many respects increasingly curtailed in the chief Negro areas (the South) in

connection with the transition from the progressive, pre-monopoly capitalism of 1860-70 to the reactionary, monopoly capitalism (imperialism) of the new era, which in America was especially sharply etched out by the Spanish-American imperialist war of 1898 (i.e., a war between two robbers over the division of the booty).

The white population of the United States makes up 88.7 per cent of the total, and of this figure 74.3 per cent are Americans and only 14.4 per cent foreign-born, i.e., immigrants. We know that the especially favourable conditions in America for the development of capitalism and the rapidity of this development have produced a situation in which vast national differences are speedily and fundamentally, as nowhere else in the world, smoothed out to form a single "American" nation.

Adding the United States and Japan to the West-European countries enumerated above, we get 14 states with an aggregate population of 394 million, of which 26 million, i.e., 7 per cent, belong to unequal nationalities. Though this will be dealt with later, I might observe that at the turn of the century, i.e., in the period when capitalism was being transformed into imperialism, the majority of precisely these 14 advanced states made especially great strides in colonial policy, with the result that they now "dispose" of a population of over 500 million in dependent and colonial countries.

II

The group of East-European states—Russia, Austria, Turkey (which geographically should now be considered among the Asian states, and economically a "semi-colony"), and the six small Balkan states—Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and Albania—clearly reveal a fundamentally different picture. Not a *single* nationally fully homogeneous state! Only the small Balkan countries can be described as national states, though we should not forget that here, too, other nationalities comprise from 5 to 10 per cent, that very great numbers (compared with the total number of people belonging to the given nation) of Rumanians and Serbs live outside their "own" states, and that, in general, the bourgeois-national development of Balkan statehood

was not completed even by "yesterday's" wars of 1911-12. There is not a *single* national state like Spain, Sweden, etc., among the small Balkan countries. And in the big East-European states, in all three, the proportion of their "own", principal nationality is only 43 per cent. More than half the population of each of these three big states, 57 per cent, is made up of other nationalities (or, to use the official Russian term, of "aliens"). Statistically, the difference between the West-European and East-European groups of states can be expressed as follows:

In the first group we have ten homogeneous or near homogeneous national states with an aggregate population of 231 million. There are only two heterogeneous states, but without national oppression and with constitutional and factual equality; their population is 11.5 million.

In the second group 6 states, with a population of 23 million, are nearly homogeneous; *three* states, with a population of 249 million, are heterogeneous or "mixed" and without national equality.

On the whole, the proportion of the foreign-nationality population (i.e., not belonging to the principal nation* of the given state) is 6 per cent in Western Europe, and 7 per cent if we add the United States and Japan. In Eastern Europe, on the other hand, the proportion is 53 per cent!**

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* The Great Russians in Russia, the Germans and Hungarians in Austria, the Turks in Turkey.

** The manuscript breaks off here.—*Ed.*

IMAGINARY OR REAL MARSH?[111]

In his article on the majority and minority (*Berner Tagwacht* and *Neues Leben*) Comrade R. Grimm maintains that "we too invented" "the marsh, an imaginary Centrist trend in the party".

We shall prove that the stand taken by Grimm in this article is a typically Centrist one.

In his polemic with the majority, Grimm writes:

"*No party* that subscribes to Zimmerwald and Kienthal has advocated refusal to serve in the army and simultaneously obligated its members to put that slogan into effect. Liebknecht himself donned military uniform and entered the army. The Italian party has confined itself to rejecting war credits and civil peace. The French minority has done likewise."

We rub our eyes in sheer astonishment. We reread this important passage in Grimm's article and advise the reader to ponder on it.

Incredible but true! To prove that we invented the Centrist trend, a representative of this very Centre, Grimm, lumps together the Left internationalists (Liebknecht) and the Zimmerwald Right or Centre!!!

Does Grimm really think that he can deceive the Swiss workers and convince them that Liebknecht and the Italian party belong to one and the same trend? That they are not separated by the *very difference* that distinguishes the Left from the Centre?

Let us set out *our* arguments:

First, let us hear a witness who does not belong either to the Centre or to the Left. The German social-imperialist Ernst Heilmann wrote in *Die Glocke*[112] of August 12, 1916,

p. 772: ... "Die Arbeitsgemeinschaft,* *or the Zimmerwald Right*, of which Kautsky is the theoretician and Haase and Ledebour the political leaders...." Can Grimm challenge the fact that Kautsky, Haase and Ledebour are typical men of the Centre?

Second, can Grimm be unaware of the fact that in present-day socialism the Zimmerwald Right or Centre is *opposed* to an immediate break with the I.S.B., the International Socialist Bureau in The Hague, the *bureau of social-patriots*? That the Left *favours* such a break? That at Kienthal representatives of the *Internationale* group—the group to which Liebknecht belongs—fought against convocation of the I.S.B. and insisted on a break with it?

Third, has Grimm forgotten that social-pacifism, directly condemned by the Kienthal resolution, has now become the platform of the Centre in France, Germany and Italy? That the whole Italian party, which did not protest either against the numerous social-pacifist resolutions and statements of its parliamentary group, or against Turati's disgraceful December 17 speech, subscribes to social-pacifism? That both Left groups in Germany, the I.S.D. (International Socialists of Germany) and the *Internationale* (or Spartacus group to which Liebknecht belongs), have *forthrightly rejected* the social-pacifism of the Centre? Nor should it be forgotten that the worst social-imperialists and social-patriots in France, led by Sembat, Renaudel and Jouhaux, *likewise* voted for social-pacifist resolutions, thereby strikingly demonstrating and exposing the real, objective meaning of social-pacifism.

Fourth ... but enough! Grimm is expounding precisely the Centrist-view when he advises the Swiss party to "satisfy itself" with rejection of credits and civil peace, as the Italian party has done. Grimm criticises the majority proposal precisely from the Centrist standpoint, because the majority wants to move nearer to *Liebknecht*'s standpoint.

Grimm calls for clarity, frankness and honesty. Very well! But don't these virtuous qualities call for a clear, frank and honest distinction between the views and tactics

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* Commonwealth of Labour.—*Ed.*

of Liebknecht and those of the Centre, which should not be lumped together?

To side with Liebknecht implies: (1) attacking the main enemy in your own country; (2) exposing the social-patriots of your own country and (with your permission, Comrade Grimm!) not merely of *other* countries; combating them, and not uniting with them—as you do—against the Left Radicals; (3) openly criticising and exposing the weaknesses not only of the social-patriots, but also of the social-pacifists and Centrists of your own country; (4) utilising the parliamentary tribune to summon the proletariat to revolutionary struggle, urging it to turn its weapons against its enemy; (5) circulating illegal literature and organising illegal meetings; 6) organising proletarian demonstrations such as, for instance, the demonstration on Potsdam Square in Berlin at which Liebknecht was arrested; (7) calling on the workers in the war industries to strike, as the *Internationale* group has done through its illegal leaflets; (8) openly demonstrating the need for complete "regeneration" of the present parties, which confine themselves to reformist activity; acting as Liebknecht acted; (9) unreservedly rejecting defence of the fatherland in an imperialist war; (10) fighting reformism and opportunism within the Social-Democratic movement all along the line; (11) just as relentlessly combating the trade union leaders, who in all countries, particularly Germany, England and Switzerland, are the vanguard of social-patriotism and opportunism, etc.

Clearly, from *this* point of view much in the majority draft is subject to criticism. But that can be discussed only in a separate article. Here it is necessary to emphasise that the majority at any rate proposes certain steps in *this* direction, while Grimm attacks the majority not from the Left, but from the *Right*, not from Liebknecht's positions, but from those of the Centre.

Throughout his article Grimm confuses two fundamentally different questions: first, the question of *when*, at what precise moment, should one or another revolutionary action be carried out. Attempts to decide that question in advance are meaningless, and Grimm is only throwing dust in the workers' eyes when he reproaches the majority on this point.

Second question: *how* to refashion, transform a party now *incapable* of conducting a systematic, persistent and, under any concrete conditions, genuinely revolutionary struggle into a party *capable* of waging this struggle.

And that is the cardinal question. Here we have the very *root* of the whole controversy, of the whole struggle of trends, both on the war issue and on defence of the fatherland! But that is the very question Grimm tries to pass over in silence, gloss over, obscure. More: Grimm's explanations boil down to *denying* the very existence of this question.

Everything remains as of old—that idea runs through his whole article. In this lies the most profound justification of the contention that the article speaks for the *Centre*. Everything remains as of old: *only* rejection of war credits and civil peace! Every intelligent bourgeois is bound to admit that, in the final analysis, this is *not unacceptable* to the bourgeoisie too: this does not threaten its domination, does not prevent it from prosecuting the war ("we submit" as the "minority of the country"—these words of Grimm's have very far-reaching political implications, much more than would appear at first sight!).

And isn't it an international fact that the bourgeoisie itself, and its governments in the warring countries, primarily England and Germany, are *persecuting only* supporters of Liebknecht and are *tolerating* men of the Centre?

Forward, to the Left, even if this means the resignation of certain social-patriot leaders! This, in a few words, is the political point and purpose of the majority proposals.

Retreat from Zimmerwald to the Right, to social-pacifism, to positions of the Centre, to "peace" with the social-patriot leaders, no mass action, no revolutionising of the movement, no regeneration of the party! That is Grimm's point of view.

It is to be hoped that, at long last, it will open the eyes of the Swiss Left Radicals to his Centrist position.

Written (in German)
in late January 1917

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PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE RESOLUTION ON THE WAR ISSUE[113]

1. Party parliamentary deputies shall be under obligation to reject, stating their principled grounds, all war demands and credits and insist on demobilisation.

2. No civil peace; intensification of principled struggle against all bourgeois parties, also against nationalist-Grütli ideas in the labour movement and the party.

3. Systematic revolutionary propaganda in the army.

4. Support of all revolutionary movements and of the struggle against the war and against one's own government in every warring country.

5. Assistance to every revolutionary mass action in Switzerland—strikes, demonstrations—and their development into open armed struggle.

6. The party shall proclaim the socialist transformation of Switzerland to be the aim of the revolutionary mass struggle decided upon at the 1915 Party Congress at Aarau. This revolution is the only, and really effective, way of liberating the working class from the horror of high prices and hunger, and is essential for the complete elimination of militarism and war.

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THE STORY OF ONE SHORT PERIOD IN THE LIFE OF ONE SOCIALIST PARTY

Jan. 7, 1917. Meeting of the Swiss Socialist Party Executive. Centrist leader R. Grimm unites with social-patriot leaders to postpone indefinitely the party congress (originally appointed for Feb. 11, 1917 to discuss the war issue).

Nobs, Platten, Naine and others protest and vote against.

Postponement rouses the greatest indignation among class-conscious workers.

Jan. 9, 1917. Publication of majority and minority resolutions.[114] Clear statement *against* fatherland defence *totally lacking* in majority draft (Affolter and Schmid were against this), but § 3 does contain this demand: "Party parliamentary deputies shall be under obligation to reject, stating their principled grounds, all war demands and credits." That should be especially noted!

Jan. 23, 1917. The Zurich *Volksrecht* puts the case for a referendum[115]. Sharply, but quite correctly, it characterises the postponement as a victory of Grütlianism over socialism.

Leaders infuriated by referendum proposal. *Grimm* in the *Berner Tagwacht*, *Jacques Schmid* (Olten) in the *Neue Freie Zeitung*,[116] *F. Schneider* in the *Basler Vorwärts*,[117] and, besides these "Centrists", social-patriot *Huber* in the St. Gallen *Volksstimme*—all heap abuse and threats on the referendum initiators.

R. Grimm stands at the head of this unholy crusade, making a special effort to intimidate the "youth organisation" and promising to come out against it at the next party congress.

Hundreds and hundreds of workers in German and French Switzerland eagerly sign referendum papers. Naine wires

Münzenberg that one cantonal secretariat will, in all probability, support referendum.

Jan. 22, 1917. The *Berner Tagwacht* and *Volksrecht* carry a statement by National Council member *Gustav Müller*. He presents the party a veritable ultimatum, stating on behalf of his group (he writes: "our group") that he will resign from the National Council because he *cannot accept* "the principle of rejecting war credits".

Jan. 26, 1917. In his fourth *Volksrecht* article, *Greulich* presents the same ultimatum to the party, saying that he will "naturally" resign if the party congress approves *paragraph 3 of the majority resolution*.[118]

Jan. 27, 1917. E. Nobs says in an editorial comment ("On the Referendum") that *under no circumstances* can he endorse the referendum motivation.[119]

Platten is silent.

Jan. 31, 1917. The Secretariat decides to convene the party congress on June 2 and 3, 1917 (it will be remembered that the Secretariat had earlier decided to convene it on Feb. 11, 1917, but the decision was repealed by the Party Executive!).

Feb. 1, 1917. Part of the Zimmerwald Conference meets at Olten, attended by representatives of organisations invited to the conference of Entente socialists (March 1917).

Radek, Zinoviev, Münzenberg, one member of the *Internationale* (the Spartacus group in Germany, of which Karl Liebknecht was a member) publicly castigate R. Grimm, stating that his alliance with the social-patriots *against* the Swiss socialist workers makes him a "political corpse".

Press is silent about this conference.

Feb. 1, 1917. Platten publishes his first article on the war issue.[120] Attention should be drawn to the following two of his statements.

First, Platten writes, literally: "Of course, the absence was felt in the commission of the cool-headed, courageous and consistent Zimmerwald champion who would have insisted on *pigeon-holing* the war issue till the end of the war."

No name was mentioned, but it should not be hard to guess against whom this blow was aimed.

Second, Platten makes this statement of principle:

"The war issue is not only a battle of opinions around *this* question, but is indicative also of a definite trend in

the further development of the party; it is a struggle against opportunism within the party, and an act of opposition to the reformists and in favour of revolutionary class struggle."

Feb. 3, 1917. A private meeting of Centrists (Grimm, Schneider, Rimathe and others) attended also by Nobs and Platten. Münzenberg and Dr. Bronski are invited but decline.

A decision is adopted to "amend" the majority resolution in a way that materially *worsens* it and turns it into a "Centrist resolution", especially because *paragraph 3* is deleted and replaced by a deliberately indefinite and hazy expression.

Feb. 6, 1917. General meeting of Social-Democratic Party members in Zurich. Main item: committee elections.

Poor attendance, especially on the part or workers.

Platten suggests postponing the meeting. Social-patriots and Nobs object. Proposal is defeated.

Elections are held. When it turns out that Dr. Bronski is elected, social-patriot *Baumann* announces on behalf of four committee members that he refuses to work with Dr. Bronski.

Platten suggests accepting this ultimatum (submitting to it), proposing (absolutely undemocratically and unlawfully) that the elections be declared invalid. That proposal is carried!!!

Feb. 9, 1917. Publication of a "new" majority resolution. The signatures: the "Centrists" Grimm, Rimathe, Schneider, Jacques Schmid, etc., also Nobs and Platten. The resolution has been greatly worsened and *paragraph 3*, as indicated above, deleted.[121]

The resolution does *not even hint* at combating opportunism and reformism, or at a firm decision to follow Karl Liebknecht's tactics!

It is a typical Centrist resolution, in which "general", supposedly "theoretical" disquisitions predominate, while practical demands are deliberately couched in such feeble and hazy language that, it can be hoped, not only Greulich and G. Müller, but even Baumann—Zurich will probably deign to withdraw their ultimatum and ... amnesty the party.

To sum up: the leaders of the Swiss party have solemnly buried Zimmerwaldism in the "marsh".

Addition:

The St. Gallen *Volksstimme* of Jan. 25, 1917 (to which *Huber*—Rorschach frequently contributes):

"It suffices to oppose to this shamelessness [i.e., the referendum motivation] the fact that the postponement proposal (Jan. 7) was made by Comrade *Grimm* and energetically supported, among others, by Comrades *Manz*, *Greulich*, *Müller*, *Affolter and Schmid*."

The *Basler Vorwärts* of Jan. 16, 1917 reports that the postponement proposal (Jan. 7) was tabled by the following comrades:

"Grimm, Rimathe, Studer, Münch, Lang—Zurich, Schneider—Basel, Keel—St. Gallen and Schnurrenberger (!!? obviously a misprint for Schneeberger?).

The workers have every reason to be grateful to the two papers for listing these *names*!...

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DRAFT THESES, MARCH 4 (17), 1917[122]

Information reaching Zurich from Russia at this moment, March 17, 1917, is so scanty, and events in our country are developing so rapidly, that any judgement of the situation must of needs be very cautious.

Yesterday's dispatches indicated that the tsar had already abdicated and that the new, Octobrist-Cadet government[123] had already made an agreement with other representatives of the Romanov dynasty. Today there are reports from England that the tsar has not yet abdicated, and that his whereabouts are unknown. This suggests that he is trying to put up resistance, organise a party, perhaps even an armed force, in an attempt to restore the monarchy. If he succeeds in fleeing from Russia or winning over part of the armed forces, the tsar might, to mislead the people, issue a manifesto announcing immediate conclusion of a separate peace with Germany!

That being the position, the proletariat's task is a pretty complex one. There can be no doubt that it must organise itself in the most efficient way, rally all its forces, arm, strengthen and extend its alliance with all sections of the working masses of town and country in order to put up a stubborn resistance to tsarist reaction and crush the tsarist monarchy once and for all.

Another factor to bear in mind is that the new government that has seized power in St. Petersburg, or, more correctly, wrested it from the proletariat, which has waged a victorious, heroic and fierce struggle, consists of liberal bourgeois and landlords whose lead is being followed by Kerensky, the spokesman of the democratic peasants and, possibly, of that part of the workers who have forgotten their interna-

tionalism and have been led on to the bourgeois path. The new government is composed of avowed advocates and supporters of the imperialist war with Germany, i.e., a war in alliance with the English and French imperialist governments, a war for the plunder and conquest of foreign lands—Armenia, Galicia, Constantinople, etc.

The new government cannot give the peoples of Russia (and the nations tied to us by the war) either peace, bread, or full freedom. The working class must therefore continue its fight for socialism and peace, utilising for this purpose the new situation and explaining it as widely as possible among the masses.

The new government cannot give the people peace, because it represents the capitalists and landlords and because it is tied to the English and French capitalists by treaties and financial commitments. Russian Social-Democracy must therefore, while remaining true to internationalism, first and foremost explain to the people who long for peace that it cannot be won under the present government whose first appeal to the people (March 17) does not as much as mention the chief and basic issue of the time, peace. It is keeping secret the predatory treaties tsarism concluded with England, France, Italy, Japan, etc. It wants to conceal from the people the truth about its war programme, the fact that it stands for continuation of the war, for victory over Germany. It is not in a position to do what the people so vitally need: directly and frankly propose to all belligerent countries an immediate ceasefire, to be followed by peace based on complete liberation of all the colonies and dependent and unequal nations. That requires a workers' government acting in alliance with, first, the poorest section of the rural population, and, second, the revolutionary workers of all countries in the war.

The new government cannot give the people bread. And no freedom can satisfy the masses suffering from hunger due to shortages and inefficient distribution of available stocks, and, most important, to the seizure of these stocks by the landlords and capitalists. It requires revolutionary measures against the landlords and capitalists to give the people bread, and such measures can be carried out only by a workers' government.

Lastly, the new government is not in a position to give the people full freedom, though in its March 17 manifesto it speaks of nothing but political freedom and is silent on other, no less important, issues. The new government has already endeavoured to reach agreement with the Romanov dynasty, for it has suggested recognising the Romanovs, in defiance of the people's will, on the understanding that Nicholas II would abdicate in favour of his son, with a member of the Romanov family appointed regent. In its manifesto, the new government promises every kind of freedom, but has failed in its direct and unconditional duty immediately to implement such freedoms as election of officers, etc., by the soldiers, elections to the St. Petersburg, Moscow and other City Councils on a basis of genuinely universal, and not merely male, suffrage, make all government and public buildings available for public meetings, appoint elections to all local institutions and Zemstvos, likewise on the basis of genuinely universal suffrage, repeal all restrictions on the rights of local government bodies, dismiss all officials appointed to supervise local government bodies, introduce not only freedom of religion, but also freedom from religion, immediately separate the school from the church and free it of control by government officials, etc.

The new government's March 17 manifesto arouses the deepest distrust, for it consists entirely of promises and does not provide for the immediate carrying out of a single one of the vital measures that can and should be carried out right now.

The new government's programme does not contain a single word on the eight-hour day or on any other economic measure to improve the worker's position. It contains not a single word about land for the peasants, about the uncompensated transfer to the peasants of all the estates. By its silence on these vital issues the new government reveals its capitalist and landlord nature.

Only a workers' government that relies, first, on the overwhelming majority of the peasant population, the farm labourers and poor peasants, and, second, on an alliance with the revolutionary workers of all countries in the war, can give the people peace, bread and full freedom.

The revolutionary proletariat can therefore only regard the revolution of March 1 (14) as its initial, and by no means complete, victory on its momentous path. It cannot but set itself the task of continuing the light for a democratic republic and socialism.

To do that, the proletariat and the R.S.D.L.P. must above all utilise the relative and partial freedom the new government is introducing, and which can be guaranteed and extended only by continued, persistent and persevering revolutionary struggle.

The truth about the present government and its real attitude on pressing issues must be made known to all working people in town and country, and also to the army. Soviets of Workers' Deputies must be organised, the workers must be armed. Proletarian organisations must be extended to the army (which the new government has likewise promised political rights) and to the rural areas. In particular there must be a separate class organisation for farm labourers.

Only by making the truth known to the widest masses of the population, only by organising them, can we guarantee full victory in the next stage of the revolution and the winning of power by a workers' government.

Fulfilment of this task, which in revolutionary times and under the impact of the severe lessons of the war can be brought home to the people in an immeasurably shorter time than under ordinary conditions, requires the revolutionary proletarian party to be ideologically and organisationally independent. It must remain true to internationalism and not succumb to the false bourgeois phraseology meant to dupe the people by talk of "defending the fatherland" in the present imperialist and predatory war.

Not only this government, but even a democratic bourgeois republican government, were it to consist exclusively of Kerensky and other Narodnik and "Marxist" social-patriots, cannot lead the people out of the imperialist war and guarantee peace.

For that reason we cannot consent to any blocs, or alliances, or even agreements with the defencists among the workers, nor with the Gvozdyov-Potresov-Chkhenkeli-Kerensky, etc., trend, nor with men who, like Chkheidze and others, have taken a vacillating and indefinite stand on this

crucial issue. Those agreements would not only inject an element of falseness in the minds of the masses, making them dependent on the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie, but would also weaken and undermine the leading role of the proletariat in ridding the people of imperialist war and guaranteeing a genuinely durable peace between the workers' governments of all countries.

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TELEGRAM TO THE BOLSHEVIKS LEAVING FOR RUSSIA[124]

Our tactics: no trust in and no support of the new government; Kerensky is especially suspect; arming of the proletariat is the only guarantee; immediate elections to the Petrograd City Council; no rapprochement with other parties. Telegraph this to Petrograd.

Ulyanov

Written on March 6 (19), 1917
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LETTER TO *VOLKSRECHT*[125]

Various German newspapers have published a *distorted version* of the telegram I sent on Monday, March 19, to certain members of our Party in Scandinavia who were leaving for Russia and who asked my advice about the tactics Social-Democrats should follow.

My telegram reads:

"Our tactics: no trust in and no support of the new government; Kerensky is especially suspect; arming of the proletariat is the only guarantee; immediate elections to the Petrograd City Council; no rapprochement with other parties. Telegraph this to Petrograd."

I sent the telegram in the name of Central Committee members *living abroad*, not in the name of the Central Committee itself. Reference is not to the Constituent Assembly, but to elections to *municipal* bodies. Elections to the Constituent Assembly are, so far, merely an empty promise. Elections to the Petrograd City Council could and should be held *immediately*, if the government is really capable of introducing its promised freedoms. These elections could help the proletariat organise and strengthen its revolutionary positions.

N. Lenin

Written after March 6 (19), 1917

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LETTERS FROM AFAR[126]

LETTERS FROM AFAR

FIRST LETTER

THE FIRST STAGE OF THE FIRST REVOLUTION[127]

The first revolution engendered by the imperialist world war has broken out. The first revolution but certainly not the last.

Judging by the scanty information available in Switzerland, the first stage of this first revolution, namely, of the Russian revolution of March 1, 1917, has ended. This first stage of our revolution will certainly not be the last.

How could such a "miracle" have happened, that in only eight days—the period indicated by Mr. Milyukov in his boastful telegram to all Russia's representatives abroad—a monarchy collapsed that had maintained itself for centuries, and that in spite of everything had managed to maintain itself throughout the three years of the tremendous, nation-wide class battles of 1905-07?

There are no miracles in nature or history, but every abrupt turn in history, and this applies to every revolution, presents such a wealth of content, unfolds such unexpected and specific combinations of forms of struggle and alignment of forces of the contestants, that to the lay mind there is much that must appear miraculous.

The combination of a number of factors of world-historic importance was required for the tsarist monarchy to have collapsed in a few days. We shall mention the chief of them.

Without the tremendous class battles and the revolutionary energy displayed by the Russian proletariat during the three years 1905-07, the second revolution could not possibly have been so rapid in the sense that its *initial stage* was

completed in a few days. The first revolution (1905) deeply ploughed the soil, uprooted age-old prejudices, awakened millions of workers and tens of millions of peasants to political life and political struggle and revealed to each other—and to the world—*all* classes (and all the principal parties) of Russian society in their true character and in the true alignment of their interests, their forces, their modes of action, and their immediate and ultimate aims. This first revolution, and the succeeding period of counter-revolution (1907-14), laid bare the very essence of the tsarist monarchy, brought it to the "utmost limit", exposed all the rottenness and infamy, the cynicism and corruption of the tsar's clique, dominated by that monster, Rasputin. It exposed all the bestiality of the Romanov family—those pogrom-mongers who drenched Russia in the blood of Jews, workers and revolutionaries, those *landlords*, "first among peers", *who own millions* of dessiatines of land and are prepared to stoop to any brutality, to any crime, to ruin and strangle any number of citizens in order to preserve the "sacred right of property" for themselves *and their class*.

Without the Revolution of 1905-07 and the counter-revolution of 1907-14, there could not have been that clear "self-determination" of all classes of the Russian people and of the nations inhabiting Russia, that determination of the relation of these classes to each other and to the tsarist monarchy, which manifested itself during the eight days of the February-March Revolution of 1917. This eight-day revolution was "performed", if we may use a metaphorical expression, as though after a dozen major and minor rehearsals; the "actors" knew each other, their parts, their places and their setting in every detail, through and through, down to every more or less important shade of political trend and mode of action.

For the first great Revolution of 1905, which the Guchkovs and Milyukovs and their hangers-on denounced as a "great rebellion", led, after the lapse of twelve years, to the "brilliant", the "glorious" Revolution of 1917—the Guchkovs and Milyukovs have proclaimed it "glorious" because it has put them in power (*for the time being*). But this required a great, mighty and all-powerful "stage manager", capable, on the one hand, of vastly accelerating the course of world

history, and, on the other, of engendering world-wide crises of unparalleled intensity—economic, political, national and international. Apart from an extraordinary acceleration of world history, it was also necessary that history make particularly abrupt turns, in order that at one such turn the filthy and blood-stained cart of the Romanov monarchy should be overturned at *one stroke*.

This all-powerful "stage manager", this mighty accelerator was the imperialist world war.

That it is a world war is now indisputable, for the United States and China are already half-involved today, and will be fully involved tomorrow.

That it is an imperialist war on *both* sides is now likewise indisputable. Only the capitalists and their hangers-on, the social-patriots and social-chauvinists, or—if instead of general critical definitions we use political names familiar in Russia—only the Guchkovs and Lvovs, Milyukovs and Shingaryovs on the one hand, and only the Gvozdyovs, Potresovs, Chkhenkelis, Kerenskys and Chkheidzes on the other, can deny or gloss over this fact. *Both* the German and the Anglo-French bourgeoisie are waging the war for the plunder of foreign countries and the strangling of small nations, for financial world supremacy and the division and redivision of colonies, and in order to save the tottering capitalist regime by misleading and dividing the workers of the various countries.

The imperialist war was bound, with objective inevitability, immensely to accelerate and intensify to an unprecedented degree the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie; it was bound to turn into a civil war between the hostile classes.

This *transformation has been started* by the February-March Revolution of 1917, the first stage of which has been marked, firstly, by a joint blow at tsarism struck by two forces: one, the whole of bourgeois and landlord Russia, with all her unconscious hangers-on and all her conscious leaders, the British and French ambassadors and capitalists, and the other, *the Soviet of Workers' Deputies*, which has begun to win over the soldiers' and peasants' deputies.[128]

These three political camps, these three fundamental political forces—(1) the tsarist monarchy, the head of the feudal

landlords, of the old bureaucracy and the military caste; (2) bourgeois and landlord-Octobrist-Cadet Russia, behind which trailed the petty bourgeoisie (of which Kerensky and Chkheidze are the principal representatives); (3) the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, which is seeking to make the entire proletariat and the entire mass of the poorest part of the population its allies—these three *fundamental* political forces fully and clearly revealed themselves even in the eight days of the "first stage" and even to an observer so remote from the scene of events as the present writer, who is obliged to content himself with the meagre foreign press dispatches.

But before dealing with this in greater detail, I must return to the part of my letter devoted to a factor of prime importance, namely, the imperialist world war.

The war shackled the belligerent powers, the belligerent groups of capitalists, the "bosses" of the capitalist system, the slave-owners of the capitalist slave system, to each other with *chains of iron. One bloody clot*—such is the social and political life of the present moment in history.

The socialists who deserted to the bourgeoisie on the outbreak of the war—all these Davids and Scheidemanns in Germany and the Plekhanovs, Potresovs, Gvozdyovs and Co. in Russia—clamoured loud and long against the "illusions" of the revolutionaries, against the "illusions" of the Basle Manifesto, against the "farcical dream" of turning the imperialist war into a civil war. They sang praises in every key to the strength, tenacity and adaptability allegedly revealed by capitalism—*they*, who had aided the capitalists to "adapt", tame, mislead and divide the working classes of the various countries!

But "he who laughs last laughs best". The bourgeoisie has been unable to delay for long the revolutionary crisis engendered by the war. That crisis is growing with irresistible force in all countries, beginning with Germany, which, according to an observer who recently visited that country, is suffering "brilliantly organised famine", and ending with England and France, where *famine is also* looming, but where organisation is far less "brilliant".

It was natural that the revolutionary crisis should have broken out *first of all* in tsarist Russia, where the disorganisation was most appalling and the proletariat most revolu-

tionary (not by virtue of any special qualities, but because of the living traditions of 1905). This crisis was precipitated by the series of extremely severe defeats sustained by Russia and her allies. They shook up the old machinery of government and the old order and roused the anger of *all* classes of the population against them; they embittered the army, wiped out a very large part of the old commanding personnel, composed of die-hard aristocrats and exceptionally corrupt bureaucratic elements, and replaced it by a young, fresh, mainly bourgeois, commoner, petty-bourgeois personnel. Those who, grovelling to the bourgeoisie or simply lacking backbone, howled and wailed about "defeatism", are now faced by the fact of the historical connection between the defeat of the most backward and barbarous tsarist monarchy and the *beginning* of the revolutionary conflagration.

But while the defeats early in the war were a negative factor that precipitated the upheaval, the *connection* between Anglo-French finance capital, Anglo-French imperialism, and Russian Octobrist-Cadet capital was a factor that hastened this crisis by the direct *organisation of a plot* against Nicholas Romanov.

This highly important aspect of the situation is, for obvious reasons, hushed up by the Anglo-French press and maliciously emphasised by the German. We Marxists must soberly face the truth and not allow ourselves to be confused either by the lies, the official sugary diplomatic and ministerial lies, of the first group of imperialist belligerents, or by the sniggering and smirking of their financial and military rivals of the other belligerent group. The whole course of events in the February-March Revolution clearly shows that the British and French embassies, with their agents and "connections", who had long been making the most desperate efforts to prevent "separate" agreements and a separate peace between Nicholas II (and last, we hope, and we will endeavour to make him that) and Wilhelm II, directly organised a plot in conjunction with the Octobrists and Cadets, in conjunction with a section of the generals and army and St. Petersburg garrison officers, with the express object of *deposing* Nicholas Romanov.

Let us not harbour any illusions. Let us not make the mistake of those who—like certain O.C. supporters or Men-

sheviks who are oscillating between Gvozdyov-Potresov policy and internationalism and only too often slip into petty-bourgeois pacifism—are now ready to extol "agreement" between the workers' party and the Cadets, "support" of the latter by the former, etc. In conformity with the old (and by no means Marxist) doctrine that they have learned by rote, they are trying to veil the plot of the Anglo-French imperialists and the Guchkovs and Milyukovs aimed at deposing the "chief warrior", Nicholas Romanov, and putting more energetic, fresh and more capable *warriors* in his place.

That the revolution succeeded so quickly and—seemingly, at the first superficial glance—so radically, is only due to the fact that, as a result of an extremely unique historical situation, *absolutely dissimilar currents*, *absolutely heterogeneous* class interests, *absolutely contrary* political and social strivings have *merged*, and in a strikingly "harmonious" manner. Namely, the conspiracy of the Anglo-French imperialists, who impelled Milyukov, Guchkov and Co. to seize power *for the purpose of continuing the imperialist war*, for the purpose of conducting the war still more ferociously and obstinately, for the purpose of *slaughtering fresh millions* of Russian workers and peasants in order that the Guchkovs might obtain Constantinople, the French capitalists Syria, the British capitalists Mesopotamia, and so on. This on the one hand. On the other, there was a profound proletarian and mass popular movement of a revolutionary character (a movement of the entire poorest section of the population of town and country) for *bread*, for *peace*, for *real freedom*.

It would simply be foolish to speak of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia "supporting" the Cadet-Octobrist imperialism, which has been "patched up" with English money and is as abominable as tsarist imperialism. The revolutionary workers were destroying, have already destroyed to a considerable degree and will destroy to its foundations the infamous tsarist *monarchy*. They are neither elated nor dismayed by the fact that at certain brief and exceptional historical conjunctures *they were aided* by the struggle of Buchanan, Guchkov, Milyukov and Co. to *replace* one monarch by *another monarch*, also preferably a Romanov!

Such, and only such, is the way the situation developed. Such, and only such, in the view that can be taken by a poli-

tician who does not fear the truth, who soberly weighs the balance of social forces in the revolution, who appraises every "current situation" not only from the standpoint of all its present, current peculiarities, but also from the standpoint of the more fundamental motivations, the deeper interest-relationship of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, both in Russia and throughout the world.

The workers of Petrograd, like the workers of the whole of Russia, self-sacrificingly fought the tsarist monarchy—fought for freedom, land for the peasants, and *for peace*, against the imperialist slaughter. To continue and intensify that slaughter, Anglo-French imperialist capital hatched Court intrigues, conspired with the officers of the Guards, incited and encouraged the Guchkovs and Milyukov, and fixed up a *complete new government*, which in fact *did seize power* immediately the proletarian struggle had struck the first blows at tsarism.

This new government, in which Lvov and Guchkov of the Octobrists and Peaceful Renovation Party,[129] yesterday's abettors of Stolypin the Hangman, control *really important* posts, vital posts, decisive posts, the army and the bureaucracy—this government, in which Milyukov and the other Cadets[130] are more than anything decorations, a signboard—they are there to deliver sentimental professorial speeches—and in which the Trudovik[131] Kerensky is a balalaika on which they play to deceive the workers and peasants—this government is not a fortuitous assemblage of persons.

They are representatives of the new class that has risen to political power in Russia, the class of capitalist landlords and bourgeoisie which has long been *ruling* our country economically, and which during the Revolution of 1905-07, the counter-revolutionary period of 1907-14, and finally—and with especial rapidity—the war period of 1914-17, was quick to organise itself politically, taking over control of the local government bodies, public education, congresses of various types, the Duma, the war industries committees, etc. This new class was already "almost completely" *in* power by 1917, and therefore it needed only the first blows to bring tsarism to the ground and clear the way for the bourgeoisie. The imperialist war, which required an incredible exertion of effort, so accelerated the course of backward

Russia's development that we have "at one blow" (*seemingly* at one blow) *caught up* with Italy, England, and almost with France. We have obtained a "coalition", a "national" (i.e., adapted for carrying on the imperialist slaughter and for fooling the people) "parliamentary" government.

Side by side with this government—which as regards the *present* war is but the agent of the billion-dollar "firm" "England and France"—there has arisen the chief, unofficial, as yet undeveloped and comparatively weak *workers' government*, which expresses the interests of the proletariat and of the entire poor section of the urban and rural population. This is the *Soviet of Workers' Deputies* in Petrograd, which is seeking connections with the soldiers and peasants, and also with the agricultural workers, with the latter particularly and primarily, of course, more than with the peasants.

Such is the *actual* political situation, which we must first endeavour to define with the greatest possible objective precision, in order that Marxist tactics may be based upon the only possible solid foundation—the foundation of *facts*.

The tsarist monarchy has been smashed, but not finally destroyed.

The Octobrist-Cadet bourgeois government, which wants to fight the imperialist war "to a finish", and which in reality is the agent of the financial firm "England and France", is *obliged to promise* the people the maximum of liberties and sops compatible with the maintenance of its power over the people and the possibility of continuing the imperialist slaughter.

The Soviet of Workers' Deputies is an organisation of the workers, the embryo of a workers' government, the representative of the interests of the entire mass of the *poor* section of the population, i.e., of nine-tenths of the population, which is striving for *peace*, *bread* and *freedom*.

The conflict of these three forces determines the situation that has now arisen, a situation that is *transitional* from the first stage of the revolution to the second.

The antagonism between the first and second force is *not* profound, it is temporary, the result *solely* of the present conjuncture of circumstances, of the abrupt turn of events in the imperialist war. The *whole* of the new government is monarchist, for Kerensky's *verbal* republicanism simply

cannot be taken seriously, is not worthy of a statesman and, *objectively*, is political chicanery. The new government, which has not dealt the tsarist monarchy the final blow, has already *begun to strike a bargain* with the landlord Romanov dynasty. The bourgeoisie of the Octobrist-Cadet type *needs* a monarchy to serve as the head of the bureaucracy and the army in order to protect the privileges of capital against the working people.

He who says that the workers must *support* the new government in the interests of the struggle against tsarist reaction (and apparently this is being said by the Potresovs, Gvozdyovs. Chkhenkelis and also, all *evasiveness* notwithstanding, by *Chkheidze*) is a traitor to the workers, a traitor to the cause of the proletariat, to the cause of peace and freedom. For actually, *precisely* this new government is *already* bound hand and foot by imperialist capital, by the imperialist policy of *war* and plunder, has *already* begun to strike a bargain (without consulting the people!) with the dynasty, *is already working to restore the tsarist monarchy*, is already soliciting the candidature of Mikhail Romanov as the new kinglet, is already taking measures to prop up the throne, to substitute for the legitimate (lawful, ruling by virtue of the old law) monarchy a Bonapartist, plebiscite monarchy (ruling by virtue of a fraudulent plebiscite).

No, if there is to be a real struggle against the tsarist monarchy, if freedom is to be guaranteed in fact and not merely in words, in the glib promises of Milyukov and Kerensky, the workers must *not* support the new government; the government must "support" the workers! For the only *guarantee* of freedom and of the complete destruction of tsarism lies in *arming the proletariat*, in strengthening, extending and developing the role, significance and power of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

All the rest is mere phrase-mongering and lies, self-deception on the part of the politicians of the liberal and radical camp, fraudulent trickery.

Help, or at least do not hinder, the arming of the workers, and freedom in Russia will be invincible, the monarchy irrestorable, the republic secure.

Otherwise the Guchkovs and Milyukovs will restore the monarchy and grant *none*, absolutely none of the "liberties"

they promised. All bourgeois politicians in *all* bourgeois revolutions "fed" the people and fooled the workers with promises.

Ours is a bourgeois revolution, *therefore*, the workers must support the bourgeoisie, say the Potresovs, Gvozdyovs and Chkheidzes, as Plekhanov said yesterday.

Ours is a bourgeois revolution, we Marxists say, *therefore* the workers must open the eyes of the people to the deception practised by the bourgeois politicians, teach them to put no faith in words, to depend entirely on their *own* strength, their *own* organisation, their *own* unity, and their own *weapons*.

The government of the Octobrists and Cadets, of the Guchkovs and Milyukovs, *cannot*, even if it sincerely wanted to (only infants can think that Guchkov and Lvov are sincere), *cannot* give the people *either peace*, *bread*, *or freedom*.

It cannot give peace because it is a war government, a government for the continuation of the imperialist slaughter, a government of *plunder*, out to plunder Armenia, Galicia and Turkey, annex (Constantinople, reconquer Poland, Courland, Lithuania, etc. It is a government bound hand and foot by Anglo-French imperialist capital. Russian capital is merely a branch of the world-wide "firm" which manipulates *hundreds of billions* of rubles and is called "England and France".

It cannot give bread because it is a bourgeois government. *At best*, it can give the people "brilliantly organised famine", as Germany has done. But the people will not accept famine. They will learn, and probably very soon, that there is bread and that it can be obtained, but only by methods that *do not respect the sanctity of capital and landownership*.

It cannot give freedom because it is a landlord and capitalist government which *fears* the people and has already begun to strike a bargain with the Romanov dynasty.

The tactical problems of our immediate attitude towards this government will be dealt with in another article. In it, we shall explain the peculiarity of the present situation, which is a *transition* from the first stage of the revolution to the second, and why the slogan, the "task of the day", at *this* moment must be: *Workers*, *you have performed miracles of proletarian heroism*, *the heroism of the people*, *in the*

civil war against tsarism. You must perform miracles of organisation, organisation of the proletariat and of the whole people, to prepare the way for your victory in the second stage of the revolution.

Confining ourselves for the *present* to an analysis of the class struggle and the alignment of class forces at this stage of the revolution, we have still to put the question: who are the proletariat's *allies* in *this* revolution?

It has *two* allies: first, the broad mass of the semi-proletarian and partly also of the small-peasant population, who number scores of millions and constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of Russia. For this mass peace, bread, freedom and land are *essential*. It is inevitable that to a certain extent this mass will be under the influence of the bourgeoisie, particularly of the petty bourgeoisie, to which it is most akin in its conditions of life, vacillating between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The cruel lessons of war, and they will be *the more* cruel the more vigorously the war is prosecuted by Guchkov, Lvov, Milyukov and Co., will *inevitably* push this mass towards the proletariat, compel it to follow the proletariat. We must now take advantage of the relative freedom of the new order and of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies to *enlighten* and *organise* this mass first of all and above all. Soviets of Peasants' Deputies and Soviets of Agricultural Workers—that is one of our most urgent tasks. In this connection we shall strive not only for the agricultural workers to establish their own separate Soviets, but also for the propertyless and poorest peasants to organise *separately* from the well-to-do peasants. The special tasks and special forms of organisation urgently needed at the present time will be dealt with in the next letter.

Second, the ally of the Russian proletariat is the proletariat of all the belligerent countries and of all countries in general. At present this ally is to a large degree repressed by the war, and all too often the European social-chauvinists speak in its name—men who, like Plekhanov, Gvozdyov and Potresov in Russia, have deserted to the bourgeoisie. But the liberation of the proletariat from their influence has progressed with every month of the imperialist war, and the Russian revolution will *inevitably* immensely hasten this process.

With these two allies, the proletariat, *utilising the peculiarities* of the present transition situation, can and will proceed, first, to the achievement of a democratic republic and complete victory of the peasantry over the landlords, instead of the Guchkov-Milyukov semi-monarchy, and then to *socialism*, which alone can give the war-weary people *peace*, *bread* and *freedom*.

N. Lenin

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п. 2

Для правды

Письма изъ далека.

Письмо 2.

Новое правительство и пролетаріатъ.

Главный документъ, которымъ я располагаю по сегодняшнее число (8/21 марта), это - номеръ англійской консервативнѣйшей и буржуазнѣйшей газеты „Times" (Таймзъ) отъ 16/3 со сводкой сообщеній о революціи въ Россіи. Ясно, что поручика, болѣе благонріятно — выражаясь мягко — настроеннаго къ правительству Гучкова и Милюкова, найти нелегко.

Корреспондентъ этой газеты сообщаетъ изъ Петербурга отъ среды 1(14) марта, когда существовало еще только первое временное правительство т.е. думскій Исполнительный Комитетъ изъ 13 членовъ, съ Родзянкой во главѣ и съ Керенскимъ, по выраженію газеты, „соціалистами" Керенскимъ и Чхеидзе въ числѣ членовъ, - слѣдующее:

„Группа изъ 22 выборныхъ членовъ Гос. Совѣта, Гучковъ, Стаховичъ, Трубецкой, проф. Васильевъ, Гримм, Вернадскій и др., отправила вчера телеграмму царю", умоляя его для спасенія „династіи" и пр. и пр. созвать Думу и назначить главу правительства, пользующагося „довѣріемъ націи". Каково будетъ рѣшеніе Императора, которымъ сегодня уволенъ привѣтъ, еще неизвѣстно въ данный моментъ, — пишетъ корреспондентъ — но одна вещь совершенно несомнѣнна. Если его Величество не удовлетворитъ немедленно желаній самыхъ умѣренныхъ элементовъ

First page of Lenin's manuscript
"Letters from Afar. Second Letter.
The New Government and the Proletariat"
March 22 (9), 1917

Reduced

LETTERS FROM AFAR

SECOND LETTER

THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND THE PROLETARIAT

The principal document I have at my disposal at today's dated (March 8/21) is a copy of that most conservative and bourgeois English newspaper *The Times* of March 16, containing a batch of reports about the revolution in Russia. Clearly, a source more favourably inclined—to put it mildly—towards the Guchkov and Milyukov government it would not be easy to find.

This newspaper's correspondent reports from St. Petersburg on Wednesday, March 1 (14), when the *first* Provisional (government still existed, i.e., the thirteen-member Duma Executive Committee,[132] headed by Rodzyanko and including two "socialists", as the newspaper puts it, Kerensky and Chkheidze:

"A group of 22 elected members of the Upper House [State Council] including M. Guchkov, M. Stakhovich, Prince Trubetskoi, and Professor Vassiliev, Grimm, and Vernadsky, yesterday addressed a telegram to the Tsar" imploring him in order to save the "dynasty", etc., etc., to convoke the Duma and to name as the head of the government some one who enjoys the "confidence of the nation". "What the Emperor may decide to do on his arrival today is unknown at the hour of telegraphing," writes the correspondent, "but one thing is quite certain. Unless His Majesty immediately complies with the wishes of the most moderate elements among his loyal subjects, the influence at present exercised by the Provisional Committee of the Imperial Duma will pass wholesale into the hands of the socialists, who want to see a republic established, but who are unable to institute any kind

of orderly government and would inevitably precipitate the country into anarchy within and disaster without....”

What political sagacity and clarity this reveals. How well this Englishman, who thinks like (if he does not guide) the Guchkovs and Milyukovs, understands the alignment of class forces and interests! “The most moderate elements among his loyal subjects”, i.e., the monarchist landlords and capitalists, want to take power into their hands, fully realising that otherwise “influence” will pass into the hands of the “socialists”. Why the “socialists” and not somebody else? Because the English Guchkovite is fully aware that there is *no* other social force in the political arena, *nor can there be*. The revolution was made by the proletariat. It displayed heroism; it shed its blood; it swept along with it the broadest masses of the toilers and the poor; it is demanding bread, peace and freedom; it is demanding a republic; it sympathises with socialism. But the handful of landlords and capitalists headed by the Guchkovs and Milyukovs want to betray the will, or strivings, of the vast majority and conclude *a deal with the tottering monarchy*, bolster it up, save it: appoint Lvov and Guchkov, Your Majesty, and we will be with the monarchy against the people. Such is the entire meaning, the sum and substance of the new government's policy!

But how to justify the deception, the fooling of the people, the violation of the will of the overwhelming majority of the population?

By slandering the people—the old but eternally new method of the bourgeoisie. And the English Guchkovite slanders, scolds, spits and splutters: “anarchy within and disaster without”, no “orderly government”!!

That is not true, Mr. Guchkovite! The workers want a republic; and a republic represents far more “orderly” government than monarchy does. What guarantee have the people that the second Romanov will not get himself a second Rasputin? Disaster will be brought on precisely by continuation of the war, i.e., precisely by the new government. Only a proletarian republic, backed by the rural workers and the poorest section of the peasants and town dwellers, can secure peace, provide bread, order and freedom.

All the shouts about anarchy are merely a screen to conceal the selfish interests of the capitalists, who want to make profit out of the war, out of war loans, who want to restore the monarchy *against* the people.

"...Yesterday," continues the correspondent, "the Social-Democratic Party issued a proclamation of a most seditious character, which was spread broadcast throughout the city. They [i.e., the Social-Democratic Party] are mere doctrinaires, but their power for mischief is enormous at a time like the present. M. Kerensky and M. Chkheidze, who realise that without the support of the officers and the more moderate elements of the people they cannot hope to avoid anarchy, have to reckon with their less prudent associates, and are insensibly driven to take up an attitude which complicates the task of the Provisional Committee...."

O great English, Guchkovite diplomat! How "imprudently" you have blurted out the truth!

"The Social-Democratic Party" and their less prudent associates" with whom Kerensky and Chkheidze have to reckon", evidently mean the Central or the St. Petersburg Committee of our Party, which was restored at the January 1912 Conference,[133] those very same Bolsheviks at whom the bourgeoisie always hurl the abusive term "doctrinaires", because of their faithfulness to the "doctrine", i.e., the fundamentals, the principles, teachings, aims of *socialism*. Obviously, the English Guchkovite hurls the abusive terms seditious and doctrinaire at the manifesto[134] and at the conduct of our Party in urging a fight for a republic, peace, complete destruction of the tsarist monarchy, bread for the people.

Bread for the people and peace—that's sedition, but ministerial posts for Guchkov and Milyukov—that's "order". Old and familiar talk!

What, then, are the tactics of Kerensky and Chkheidze as characterised by the English Guchkovite?

Vacillation: on the one hand, the Guchkovite praises them: they 'realise" (Good boys! Clever boys!) that without the "support" of the army officers and the more moderate elements, anarchy cannot be avoided (we, however, have always thought, in keeping with our doctrine, with our socialist teachings, that it is the capitalists who introduce anarchy and war into human society, that only the transfer

of *all* political power to the proletariat and the poorest people can rid us of war, of anarchy and starvation!). On the other hand, they "have to reckon with their less prudent associates", i.e., the Bolsheviks, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, restored and united by the Central Committee.

What is the force that compels Kerensky and Chkheidze to "reckon" with the Bolshevik Party to which they have *never* belonged, which they, or their literary representatives (Socialist-Revolutionaries, Popular Socialists,[135] the Menshevik O.C. supporters, and so forth), have always abused, condemned, denounced as an insignificant underground circle, a sect of doctrinaires, and so forth? Where and when has it ever happened that in time of revolution, at a time of predominantly *mass* action, sane-minded politicians should "reckon" with "doctrinaires"??

He is all mixed up, our poor English Guchkovite; he has failed to produce a logical argument, has failed to tell either a whole lie or the whole truth, he has merely given himself away.

Kerensky and Chkheidze are compelled to reckon with the Social-Democratic Party of the Central Committee by the influence it exerts on the proletariat, on the masses. Our Party was found to be with the masses, with the revolutionary proletariat, *in spite of* the arrest and deportation of our Duma deputies to Siberia, as far back as 1914, in spite of the fierce persecution and arrests to which the St. Petersburg Committee was subjected for its underground activities during the war, *against* the war and against tsarism.

"Facts are stubborn things," as the English proverb has it. Let me remind you of it, most esteemed English Guchkovite! That our Party guided, or at least rendered devoted assistance to, the St. Petersburg workers in the great days of revolution is a fact the English Guchkovite "*himself*" was *obliged* to admit. And he was equally obliged to admit the fact that Kerensky and Chkheidze are oscillating *between* the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The Gvozdyovites, the "defencists", i.e., the social-chauvinists, i.e., the defenders of the imperialist, predatory war, are now completely following the bourgeoisie; Kerensky, by entering the ministry,

i.e., the second Provisional Government, has also completely deserted to the bourgeoisie; Chkheidze has not; he continues to *oscillate* between the Provisional Government of the bourgeoisie, the Guchkovs and Milyukovs, and the "provisional government" of the proletariat and the poorest masses of the people, the Soviet of Workers' Deputies and the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party united by the Central Committee.

Consequently, the revolution has confirmed what we especially insisted on when we urged the workers clearly to realise the class difference between the principal parties and principal trends in the working-class movement and among the petty bourgeoisie—what we wrote, for example, in the Geneva *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 41, nearly eighteen months ago, on October 13, 1915.

"As hitherto, we consider it admissible for Social-Democrats to join a provisional revolutionary government together with the democratic petty bourgeoisie, but *not* with the revolutionary chauvinists. By revolutionary chauvinists we mean those who want a victory over tsarism so as to achieve victory over Germany—plunder other countries—consolidate Great-Russian rule over the other peoples of Russia, etc. Revolutionary chauvinism is based on the class position of the petty bourgeoisie. The latter always vacillates between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. At present it is vacillating between chauvinism (which prevents it from being consistently revolutionary, even in the meaning of a democratic revolution) and proletarian internationalism. At the moment the Trudoviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, *Nasha Zarya* (now *Dyelo*), Chkheidze's Duma group, the Organising Committee, Mr. Plekhanov and the like are political spokesmen for this petty bourgeoisie in Russia. If the revolutionary chauvinists won in Russia, we would be opposed to a defence of *their* "fatherland" in the present war. Our slogan is: against the chauvinists, even if they are revolutionary and republican—*against* them and *for* an alliance of the international proletariat for the socialist revolution."*

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* See present edition, Vol. 21, p. 403.—*Ed.*

But let us return to the English Guchkovite.

"...The Provisional Committee of the Imperial Duma," he continues, "appreciating the dangers ahead, have purposely refrained from carrying out the original intention of arresting Ministers, although they could have done so yesterday without the slightest difficulty. The door is thus left open for negotiations, thanks to which we ["we" = British finance capital and imperialism] may obtain all the benefits of the new regime without passing through the dread ordeal of the Commune and the anarchy of civil war...."

The Guchkovites were *for* a civil war from which *they* would benefit, but they are *against* a civil war from which the people, i.e., the actual majority of the working people, would benefit.

"...The relations between the Provisional Committee of the Duma, which represents the whole nation [imagine saying this about the committee of the landlord and capitalist Fourth Duma!], and the Council of Labour Deputies, representing purely class interests [this is the language of a diplomat who has heard learned words with one ear and wants to conceal the fact that the Soviet of Workers' Deputies represents the proletariat and the poor, i.e., nine-tenths of the population], but in a crisis like the present wielding enormous power, have aroused no small misgivings among reasonable men regarding the possibility of a conflict between them—the results of which might be too terrible to describe.

"Happily this danger has been averted, at least for the present [note the "at least"!], thanks to the influence of M. Kerensky, a young lawyer of much oratorical ability, who clearly realises [unlike Chkheidze, who also "realised", but evidently less clearly in the opinion of the Guchkovite?] the necessity of working with the Committee in the interests of his Labour constituents [i.e., to catch the workers' votes, to flirt with them]. A satisfactory Agreement[136] was concluded today [Wednesday, March 1/14], whereby all unnecessary friction will be avoided."

What this agreement was, whether it was concluded with the *whole* of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies and on what terms, we do not know. On this *chief* point, the English Guchkovite says nothing at all this time. And no wonder!

It is not to the advantage of the bourgeoisie to have these terms made clear, precise and known to all, for it would then be more difficult for it to violate them!

The preceding lines were already written when I read two very important communications. First, in that most conservative and bourgeois Paris newspaper *Le Temps*[137] of March 20, the text of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies manifesto appealing for "support" of the new government[138]; second, excerpts from Skobelev's speech in the State Duma on March 1 (14), reproduced in a Zurich newspaper (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 1 Mit.-bl., March 21) from a Berlin newspaper (*National-Zeitung*[139]).

The manifesto of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, if the text has not been distorted by the French imperialists, is a most remarkable document. It shows that the St. Petersburg proletariat, at least at the time the manifesto was issued, was under the predominating influence of petty-bourgeois politicians. You will recall that in this category of politicians I include, as has been already mentioned above, people of the type of Kerensky and Chkheidze.

In the manifesto we find two political ideas, and two slogans corresponding to them:

Firstly. The manifesto says that the government (the new one) consists of "moderate elements". A strange description, by no means complete, of a purely liberal, not of a Marxist character. I too am prepared to agree that in a certain sense—in my next letter I will show in precisely what sense—now, with the first stage of the revolution completed, every government must be "moderate". But it is absolutely impermissible to conceal from ourselves and from the people that this government wants to continue the imperialist war, that it is an agent of British capital, that it wants to restore the monarchy and strengthen the rule of the landlords and capitalists.

The manifesto declares that all democrats must "support" the new government and that the Soviet of Workers' Deputies requests and authorises Kerensky to enter the Provisional Government. The conditions—implementation of the promised reforms already during the war, guarantees for the "free

cultural" (only??) development of the nationalities (a purely Cadet, wretchedly liberal programme), and the establishment of a special committee consisting of members of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies and of "military men"[140] to supervise the activities of the Provisional Government.

This Supervising Committee, which comes within the second category of ideas and slogans, we will discuss separately further on.

The appointment of the Russian Louis Blanc, Kerensky, and the appeal to support the new government is, one may say, a classical example of betrayal of the cause of the revolution and the cause of the proletariat, a betrayal which doomed a number of nineteenth-century revolutions, irrespective of how sincere and devoted to socialism the leaders and supporters of such a policy may have been.

The proletariat cannot and must not support a war government, a restoration government. To fight reaction, to rebuff all possible and probable attempts by the Romanovs and their friends to restore the monarchy and muster a counter-revolutionary army, it is necessary not to support Guchkov and Co., but to *organise*, expand and strengthen a *proletarian* militia, to arm the people under the leadership of the workers. Without this principal, fundamental, radical measure, there can be no question either of offering serious resistance to the restoration of the monarchy and attempts to rescind or curtail the promised freedoms, or of firmly taking the road that will give the people bread, *peace* and freedom.

If it is true that Chkheidze, who, with Kerensky, was a member of the first Provisional Government (the Duma committee of thirteen), refrained from entering the second Provisional Government out of principled considerations of the above-mentioned or similar character, then that does him credit. That must be said frankly. Unfortunately, such an interpretation is contradicted by the facts, and primarily by the speech delivered by Skobelev, who has always gone hand in hand with Chkheidze.

Skobelev said, if the above-mentioned source is to be trusted, that "the social [? evidently the Social-Democratic] group and the workers are only slightly in touch (have little contact) with the aims of the Provisional Government",

that the workers are demanding peace, and that if the war is continued there will be disaster in the spring anyhow, that "the workers have concluded with society [liberal society] a temporary agreement [*eine vorläufige Waffenfreundschaft*], although their political aims are as far removed from the aims of society as heaven is from earth", that "the liberals must abandon the senseless [*unsinnige*] aims of the war", etc.

This speech is a sample of what we called above, in the excerpt from *Sotsial-Demokrat*, "oscillation" between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The liberals, while remaining liberals, *cannot* "abandon" the "senseless" aims of the war, which, incidently, are not determined by them alone, but by Anglo-French finance capital, a world-mighty force measured by hundreds of billions. The task is not to "coax" the liberals, but to *explain* to the workers why the liberals find themselves in a blind alley, why *they* are bound hand and foot, why they *conceal* both the treaties tsarism concluded with England and other countries and the deals between Russian and Anglo-French capital, and so forth.

If Skobelev says that the workers have concluded an agreement with liberal society, no matter of what character, and since he does not protest against it, does not explain from the Duma rostrum how harmful it is for the workers, he thereby *approves* of the agreement. And that is exactly what he should not do.

Skobelev's direct or indirect, clearly expressed or tacit, approval of the agreement between the Soviet of Workers' Deputies and the Provisional Government is Skobelev's swing towards the bourgeoisie. Skobelev's statement that the workers are demanding peace, that their aims are as far removed from the liberals' aims as heaven is from earth, is Skobelev's swing towards the proletariat.

Purely proletarian, truly revolutionary and profoundly correct in design is the second political idea in the manifesto of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies that we are studying, namely, the idea of establishing a "Supervising Committee" (I do not know whether this is what it is called in Russian; I am translating freely from the French), of proletarian-soldier supervision over the Provisional Government.

Now, that's something real! It is worthy of the workers who have shed their blood for freedom, peace, bread for the people! It is a *real step* towards *real guarantees* against tsarism, against a monarchy and against the monarchists Guchkov, Lvov and Co.! It is a sign that the Russian proletariat, in spite of everything, has made progress compared with the French proletariat in 1848, when it "authorised" Louis Blanc! It is proof that the instinct and mind of the proletarian masses are not satisfied with declamations, exclamations, promises of reforms and freedoms, with the title of "minister authorised by the workers", and similar tinsel, but are seeking support *only* where it is to be found, in the *armed* masses of the people organised and led by the proletariat, the class-conscious workers.

It is a step along the right road, but *only* the first step.

If this "Supervising Committee" remains a purely political-type parliamentary institution, a committee that will "put questions" to the Provisional Government and receive answers from it, then it will remain a plaything, will amount to nothing.

If, on the other hand, it leads, immediately and despite all obstacles, to the formation of a *workers' militia*, or *workers' home guard*, extending to the whole people, to all men and women, which would not only replace the exterminated and dissolved police force, not only make the latter's restoration *impossible* by *any* government, constitutional-monarchist or democratic-republican, *either* in St. Petersburg *or* anywhere else in Russia—then the advanced workers of Russia will really take the road towards new and great victories, the road to victory over war, to the realisation of the slogan which, as the newspapers report, adorned the colours of the cavalry troops that demonstrated in St. Petersburg, in the square outside the State Duma:

"Long Live Socialist Republics in All Countries!"

I will set out my ideas about this workers' militia in my next letter.

In it I will try to show, on the one hand, that the formation of a militia embracing the entire people and led by the workers is the correct slogan of the day, one that corresponds to the tactical tasks of the peculiar transitional moment through which the Russian revolution (and the world

revolution) is passing; and, on the other hand, that to be successful, this workers' militia must, firstly, embrace the entire people, must be a mass organisation to the degree of being *universal*, must really embrace the *entire* able-bodied population of both sexes; secondly, it must proceed to combine not only purely police, but general state functions with military functions and with the control of social production and distribution.

N. Lenin

Zurich, March 22 (9), 1917

P.S. I forgot to date my previous letter March 20 (7).

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LETTERS FROM AFAR

THIRD LETTER
CONCERNING A PROLETARIAN MILITIA

The conclusion I drew yesterday about Chkheidze's vacillating tactics has been fully confirmed today. March 10 (23), by two documents. First—a telegraphic report from Stockholm in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*[141] containing excerpts from the manifesto of the Central Committee of our Party, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, in St. Petersburg. In this document there is not a word about either supporting the Guchkov government or overthrowing it; the workers and soldiers are called upon to organise around the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, to elect representatives to it for the fight against tsarism and for a republic, for an eight-hour day, for the confiscation of the landed estates and grain stocks, and chiefly, for an end to the predatory war. Particularly important and particularly urgent in this connection is our Central Committee's absolutely correct idea that to obtain peace relations must be established with *the proletarians of all the belligerent countries*.

To expect peace from negotiations and relations between the bourgeois governments would be self-deception and deception of the people.

The second document is a Stockholm report, also by telegraph, to another German newspaper (*Vossische Zeitung*[142]) about a conference between the Chkheidze group in the Duma, the workers' group (? Arbeiterfraction) and representatives of fifteen workers' unions on March 2 (15) and a manifesto published next day. Of the eleven points of this manifesto, the telegram reports only three; the first, the demand for a republic; the seventh, the demand for peace and

immediate peace negotiations; and the third, the demand for "adequate participation in the government of representatives of the Russian working class".

If this point is correctly reported, I can understand why the bourgeoisie is praising Chkheidze. I can understand why the praise of the English Guchkovites in *The Times* which I quoted elsewhere has been supplemented by the praise of the French Guchkovites in *Le Temps*. This newspaper of the French millionaires and imperialists writes on March 22: "The leaders of the workers' parties, particularly M. Chkheidze, are exercising all their influence to moderate the wishes of the working classes."

Indeed, to demand workers' "participation" in the Guchkov-Milyukov government is a theoretical and political absurdity: to participate as a minority would mean serving as a pawn; to participate on an "equal footing" is impossible, because the demand to continue the war cannot be reconciled with the demand to conclude an armistice and start peace negotiations; to "participate" as a majority requires the strength to *overthrow* the Guchkov-Milyukov government. In practice, the demand for "participation" is the worst sort of Louis Blanc-ism, i.e., oblivion to the class struggle and the actual conditions under which it is being waged, infatuation with a most hollow-sounding phrase, spreading illusions among the workers, loss, in negotiations with Milyukov or Kerensky, of *precious* time which must be used to create a *real* class and revolutionary force, a proletarian militia that will *enjoy the confidence of all* the poor strata of the population, and they constitute the vast majority, and will *help them to organise*, help *them* to fight for bread, peace, freedom.

This mistake in the manifesto issued by Chkheidze and his group (I am not speaking of the O.C., Organising Committee *party*, because in the sources available to me there is not a word about the O.C.)—this mistake is all the more strange considering that at the March 2 (15) conference, Chkheidze's closest collaborator, Skobelev, said, according to the newspapers: "Russia is on the eve of a second, real [*wirklich*] revolution."

Now that is the truth, from which Skobelev and Chkheidze have forgotten to draw the practical conclusions. I cannot

judge from here, from my accursed afar, how near this second revolution is. Being on the spot, Skobelev can see things better. Therefore, I am not raising for myself problems, for the solution of which I have not and cannot have the necessary concrete data. I am merely emphasising the confirmation by Skobelev, an "outside witness", i.e., one who does not belong to our Party, of the *factual* conclusion I drew in my first letter, namely: that the February-March Revolution was merely the *first stage* of the revolution. Russia is passing through a peculiar historical moment of *transition* to the next stage of the revolution, or, to use Skobelev's expression, to a "second revolution".

If we want to be Marxists and learn from the experience of revolution in the whole world, we must strive to understand in what, precisely, lies the *peculiarity* of this *transitional* moment, and what tactics follow from its objective specific features.

The peculiarity of the situation lies in that the Guchkov-Milyukov government gained the first victory with extraordinary ease due to the following three major circumstances: (1) assistance from Anglo-French finance capital and its agents; (2) assistance from part of the top ranks of the army; (3) the already existing organisation of the entire Russian bourgeoisie in the shape of the rural and urban local government institutions, the State Duma, the war industries committees, and so forth.

The Guchkov government is held in a vise: bound by the interests of capital, it is compelled to strive to continue the predatory, robber war, to protect the monstrous profits of capital and the landlords, to restore the monarchy. Bound by its revolutionary origin and by the need for an abrupt change from tsarism to democracy, pressed by the bread-hungry and peace-hungry masses, the government is compelled to lie, to wriggle, to play for time, to "proclaim" and promise (promises are the only things that are very cheap even at a time of madly rocketing prices) as much as possible and do as little as possible, to make concessions with one hand and to withdraw them with the other.

Under certain circumstances, the new government can at best postpone its collapse somewhat by leaning on all the organising ability of the entire Russian bourgeoisie and bour-

geois intelligentsia. But even in that case it is *unable* to avoid collapse, because it is *impossible* to escape from the claws of the terrible monster of imperialist war and famine nurtured by world capitalism unless one renounces bourgeois relationships, passes to revolutionary measures, appeals to the supreme historic heroism of both the Russian and world proletariat.

Hence the conclusion: we cannot overthrow the new government at one stroke, or, if we can (in revolutionary times the limits of what is possible expand a thousandfold), we will not be able to maintain power *unless we counter* the magnificent organisation of the entire Russian bourgeoisie and the entire bourgeois intelligentsia with an equally magnificent *organisation of the proletariat*, which must lead the entire vast mass of urban and rural poor, the semi-proletariat and small proprietors.

Irrespective of whether the "second revolution" has already broken out in St. Petersburg (I have said that it would be absolutely absurd to think that it is possible from abroad to assess the actual tempo at which it is maturing), whether it has been postponed for some time, or whether it has already begun in individual areas (of which some signs are evident)—in *any* case, the slogan of the moment on the eve of the new revolution, during it, and on the morrow of it, must be *proletarian organisation*.

Comrade workers! You performed miracles of proletarian heroism yesterday in overthrowing the tsarist monarchy. In the more or less near future (perhaps even now, as these lines are being written) you will again have to perform the same miracles of heroism to overthrow the rule of the landlords and capitalists, who are waging the imperialist war. You will not achieve *durable victory* in this next "real" revolution if you do not perform *miracles of proletarian organisation*!

Organisation is the slogan of the moment. But to confine oneself to that is to say nothing, for, on the one hand, organisation is *always* needed; hence, mere reference to the necessity of "organising the masses" explains absolutely nothing. On the other hand, he who confines himself solely to this becomes an abettor of the liberals, for the *very thing* the *liberals* want in order to strengthen their rule is

that the workers *should not go beyond their ordinary* "legal" (from the standpoint of "normal" bourgeois society) organisations, i.e., that they should *only* join their party, their trade union, their co-operative society, etc., etc.

Guided by their class instinct, the workers have realised that in revolutionary times they need *not only* ordinary, but an entirely different organisation. They have rightly taken the path indicated by the experience of our 1905 Revolution and of the 1871 Paris Commune; they have set up a *Soviet of Workers' Deputies*; they have begun to develop, expand and strengthen it by drawing in *soldiers'* deputies, and, undoubtedly, deputies from rural *wage*-workers, and then (in one form or another) from the entire peasant poor.

The prime and most important task, and one that brooks no delay, is to set up organisations of this kind in all parts of Russia without exception, for all trades and strata of the proletarian and semi-proletarian population without exception, i.e., for all the working and exploited people, to use a less economically exact but more popular term. Running ahead somewhat, I shall mention that for the entire mass of the peasantry our Party (its *special* role in the new type of proletarian organisations I hope to discuss in one of my next letters) should especially recommend Soviets of wage-workers and Soviets of small tillers who do not sell grain, to be formed *separately* from the well-to-do peasants. Without this, it will be impossible either to conduct a truly proletarian policy in general,* or correctly to approach the extremely important practical question which is a matter of life and death for millions of people: the proper distribution of *grain*, increasing its production, etc.

It might be asked: What should be the function of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.? They "must be regarded as organs of insurrection, of revolutionary rule", we wrote in No. 47 of the Geneva *Sotsial-Demokrat*, of October 13, 1915.**

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* In the rural districts a struggle will now develop for the small and, partly, middle peasants. The landlords, leaning on the well-to-do peasants, will try to lead them into subordination to the bourgeoisie. Leaning on the rural wage-workers and rural poor, we must lead them into the closet alliance with the urban proletariat.

** See present edition, Vol. 21, p. 402.—*Ed.*

This theoretical proposition, deduced from the experience of the Commune of 1871 and of the Russian Revolution of 1905, must be explained and concretely developed on the basis of the practical experience of precisely the present stage of the present revolution in Russia.

We need revolutionary *government*, we need (for a certain transitional period) a *state*. This is what distinguishes us from the anarchists. The difference between the revolutionary Marxists and the anarchists is not only that the former stand for centralised, large-scale communist production, while the latter stand for disconnected small production. The difference between us precisely on the question of government, of the state, is that we are *for*, and the anarchists *against*, utilising revolutionary forms of the state in a revolutionary way for the struggle for socialism.

We need a state. But *not the kind* of state the bourgeoisie has created everywhere, from constitutional monarchies to the most democratic republics. And in this we differ from the opportunists and Kautskyites of the old, and decaying, socialist parties, who have distorted, or have forgotten, the lessons of the Paris Commune and the analysis of these lessons made by Marx and Engels.*

We need a state, but *not* the kind the bourgeoisie needs, with organs of government in the shape of a police force, an army and a bureaucracy (officialdom) separate from and opposed to the people. All bourgeois revolutions merely perfected *this* state machine, merely transferred *it* from the hands of one party to those of another.

The proletariat, on the other hand, if it wants to uphold the gains of the present revolution and proceed further, to win peace, bread and freedom, must "*smash*", to use Marx's expression, this "ready-made" state machine and substitute a new one for it by *merging* the police force, the army and the bureaucracy with *the entire armed people*. Follow-

* In one of my next letters, or in a special article, I will deal in detail with this analysis, given in particular in Marx's *The Civil War in France*, in Engels's preface to the third edition of that work, in the letters: Marx's of April 12, 1871, and Engels's of March 18-28, 1875, and also with the utter distortion of Marxism by Kautsky in his controversy with Pannekoek in 1912 on the question of the so-called "destruction of the state".[143]

ing the path indicated by the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Russian Revolution of 1905, the proletariat must organise and arm *all* the poor, exploited sections of the population in order that they *themselves* should take the organs of state power directly into their own hands, in order that *they themselves should constitute* these organs of state power.

And the workers of Russia have already *taken* this path in the first stage of the first revolution, in February-March 1917. The whole task now is clearly to understand what this new path is, to proceed along it further, boldly, firmly and perseveringly.

The Anglo-French and Russian capitalists wanted "only" to remove, or only to "frighten", Nicholas II and to leave intact the old state machine, the police force, the army and the bureaucracy.

The workers went further and smashed it. And now, not only the Anglo-French, but also the German capitalists are *howling* with rage and horror as they see, for example, Russian soldiers shooting their officers, as in the case of Admiral Nepenin, that supporter of Guchkov and Milyukov.

I said that the workers have smashed the old state machine. It will be more correct to say: *have begun* to smash it.

Let us take a concrete example.

In St. Petersburg and in many other places the police force has been partly wiped out and partly dissolved. The Guchkov-Milyukov government *cannot* either restore the monarchy or, in general, maintain power *without restoring* the police force as a special organisation of armed men under the command of the bourgeoisie, separate from and opposed to the people. That is as clear as daylight.

On the other hand, the new government must reckon with the revolutionary people, must feed them with half-concessions and promises, must play for time. That is why it resorts to half-measures: it establishes a "people's militia" with elected officials (this sounds awfully respectable, awfully democratic, revolutionary and beautiful!)—*but* ... *but*, firstly, it places this militia under the control of the rural and urban local government bodies, i.e., under the command of landlords and capitalists who have been elect-

ed in conformity with laws passed by Nicholas the Bloody and Stolypin the Hangman!! Secondly, although calling it a "people's militia" in order to throw dust in the eyes of the "people", it does *not* call upon the *entire* people to join this militia, *and does not compel* the employers and capitalists to *pay* workers and office employees their ordinary wages *for the hours and days* they spend in the *public service*, i.e., in the militia.

That's their trick. That is how the landlord and capitalist government of the Guchkovs and Milyukovs manages to have a "people's militia" on paper, while in reality, it is restoring, gradually and on the quiet, the *bourgeois*, anti-people's militia. At first it is to consist of "eight thousand students and professors" (as foreign newspapers describe the present St. Petersburg militia)—an obvious plaything!—and will gradually be built up of the old and new *police force*.

Prevent restoration of the police force! Do not let the local government bodies slip out of your hands! Set up a militia that will really embrace the entire people, be really universal, and be led by the proletariat!—such is the task of the day, such is the slogan of the moment which equally conforms with the properly understood interests of furthering the class struggle, furthering the revolutionary movement, and the democratic instinct of every worker, of every peasant, of every exploited toiler who cannot help hating the policemen, the rural police patrols, the village constables, the command of landlords and capitalists over armed men with power over the people.

What kind of police force do *they* need, the Guchkovs and Milyukovs, the landlords and capitalists? The same kind as existed under the tsarist monarchy. After the briefest revolutionary periods *all* the bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic republics in the world set up or restored *precisely such* a police force, a special organisation of armed men subordinate to the bourgeoisie in one way or another, separate from and opposed to the people.

What kind of militia do we need, the proletariat, all the toiling people? A genuine *people's* militia, i.e., one that, first, consists of the *entire* population, of all adult citizens of *both* sexes; and, second, one that combines the

functions of a people's army with police functions, with the functions of the chief and fundamental organ of public order and public administration.

To make these propositions more comprehensible I will take a purely schematic example. Needless to say, it would be absurd to think of drawing up any kind of a "plan" for a proletarian militia: when the workers and the entire people set about it practically, on a truly mass scale, they will work it out and organise it a hundred times better than any theoretician. I am not offering a "plan", I only want to illustrate my idea.

St. Petersburg has a population of about two million. Of these, more than half are between the ages of 15 and 65. Take half—one million. Let us even subtract an entire fourth as physically unfit, etc., taking no part in public service at the present moment for justifiable reasons. There remain 750,000 who, serving in the militia, say one day in fifteen (and receiving their pay for this time from their employers), would form an army of 50,000.

That's the type of "state" we need!

That's the kind of militia that would be a "people's militia" in deed and not only in words.

That is how we must proceed in order to *prevent* the restoration either of a special police force, or of a special army separate from the people.

Such a militia, 95 hundredths of which would consist of workers and peasants, would express the *real* mind and will, the strength and power of the vast majority of the people. Such a militia would really arm, and provide military training for, the entire people, would be a safeguard, but *not* of the Guchkov or Milyukov type, against all attempts to restore reaction, against all the designs of tsarist agents. Such a militia would be the executive organ of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, it would enjoy the *boundless* respect and confidence of the people, for it itself would be an organisation of the entire people. Such a militia would transform democracy from a beautiful signboard, which covers up the enslavement and torment of the people by the capitalists, into a means of actually *training the masses* for participation in *all* affairs of state. Such a militia would draw the young people into political life and teach

them not only by words, but also by action, by *work*. Such a militia would develop those functions which, speaking in scientific language, come within the purview of the "welfare police", sanitary inspection, and so forth, and would enlist for such work all adult women. If women are not drawn into public service, into the militia, into political life, if women are not torn out of their stupefying house and kitchen environment, it will be *impossible* to guarantee real freedom, it will be *impossible* to build even democracy let alone socialism.

Such a militia would be a proletarian militia, for the industrial and urban workers would exert a guiding influence on the masses of the poor as naturally and inevitably as they came to hold the leading place in the people's revolutionary struggle both in 1905-07 and in 1917.

Such a militia would ensure absolute order and devotedly observed comradely discipline. At the same time, in the severe crisis that all the belligerent countries are experiencing, it would make it possible to combat this crisis in a very democratic way, properly and rapidly to distribute grain and other supplies, introduce "universal labour service", which the French now call "civilian mobilisation" and the (Germans "civilian service" and without which *it is impossible—it has proved to be impossible*—to heal the wounds that have been and are being inflicted by the predatory and horrible war.

Has the proletariat of Russia shed its blood only in order to receive fine promises of political democratic reforms and nothing more? Can it be that it will not demand, and secure, that *every* toiler should *forthwith* see and feel some improvement in his life? That every family should have bread? That every child should have a bottle of good milk and that not a single adult in a rich family should dare take extra milk until children are provided for? That the palaces and rich apartments abandoned by the tsar and the aristocracy should not remain vacant, but provide shelter for the homeless and the destitute? Who can carry out these measures except a people's militia, to which women must belong equally with men?

These measures do *not yet* constitute socialism. They concern the distribution of consumption, not the reorganisa-

tion of production. They would not yet constitute the "dictatorship of the proletariat", only the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry". It is not a matter of finding a theoretical classification. We would be committing a great mistake if we attempted to force the complete, urgent, rapidly developing practical tasks of the revolution into the Procrustean bed of narrowly conceived "theory" instead of regarding theory primarily and predominantly as a *guide to action*.

Do the masses of the Russian workers possess sufficient class-consciousness, fortitude and heroism to perform "miracles of proletarian organisation" after they have performed miracles of daring, initiative and self-sacrifice in the direct revolutionary struggle? That we do not know, and it would be idle to indulge in guessing, for practice *alone* furnishes the answers to such questions.

What we do know definitely, and what we, as a party, I must explain to the masses is, on the one hand, the immense power of the locomotive of history that is engendering an unprecedented crisis, starvation and incalculable hardship. That locomotive is the war, waged for predatory aims by the capitalists of *both* belligerent camps. This "locomotive" has brought a number of the richest, freest and most enlightened nations to the brink of doom. It is *forcing* the peoples to strain to the utmost all their energies, placing them in unbearable conditions, putting on the order of the day not the application of certain "theories" (an illusion against which Marx always warned socialists), but implementation of the most extreme practical measures; for *without* extreme measures, death—immediate and certain death from starvation—awaits millions of people.

That the revolutionary enthusiasm of the advanced class can do a *great deal* when the objective situation *demands* extreme measures from the entire people, needs no proof. *This* aspect is clearly seen and *felt* by everybody in Russia.

It is important to realise that in revolutionary times the objective situation changes with the same swiftness and abruptness as the current of life in general. And we must *be able to adapt* our tactics and immediate tasks to the *specific features* of every given situation. Before February

1917, the immediate task was to conduct bold revolutionary-internationalist propaganda, summon the masses to fight, rouse them. The February-March days required the heroism of devoted struggle to crush the immediate enemy—tsarism. Now we are in *transition* from that first stage of the revolution to the second, from "coming to grips" with tsarism to "coming to grips" with Guchkov-Milyukov landlord and capitalist imperialism. The immediate task is *organisation*, not only in the stereotyped sense of working to form stereotyped organisations, but in the sense of drawing unprecedentedly broad masses of the oppressed classes into an organisation that would take over the military, political and economic functions of the state.

The proletariat has approached, and will approach, this singular task in different ways. In some parts of Russia the February-March Revolution puts nearly complete power in its hands. In others the proletariat may, perhaps, in a "usurpatory" manner, begin to form and develop a proletarian militia. In still others, it will probably strive for immediate elections of urban and rural local government bodies on the basis of universal, etc., suffrage, in order to turn them into revolutionary centres, etc., until the growth of proletarian organisation, the coming together of the soldiers with the workers, the movement among the peasantry and the disillusionment of very many in the war-imperialist government of Guchkov and Milyukov bring near the hour when this government will be replaced by the "government" of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

Nor ought we to forget that close to St. Petersburg we have one of the most advanced, factually republican, countries, namely, Finland, which, from 1905 to 1917, shielded by the revolutionary battles of Russia, has in a relatively peaceful way developed democracy and has won the *majority* of the people for socialism. The Russian proletariat will guarantee the Finnish Republic complete freedom, including freedom to secede (it is doubtful now whether a single Social-Democrat will waver on this point when the Cadet Rodichev is so meanly haggling in Helsingfors for bits of privileges for the Great Russians[144])—and precisely in this way will win the *complete* confidence and comradely assistance of the Finnish workers for the all-Russian proletarian

cause. In a difficult and big undertaking mistakes are inevitable, nor will we avoid them. The Finnish workers are better organisers, they will help us in this sphere, they will, *in their own way*, push forward the establishment of the socialist republic.

Revolutionary victories in Russia proper—peaceful organisational successes in Finland shielded by these victories—the Russian workers' transition to revolutionary organisational tasks on a new scale—capture of power by the proletariat and poorest strata of the population—encouragement and development of the socialist revolution in the West—this is the road that will lead us to *peace* and *socialism*.

N. Lenin

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LETTERS FROM AFAR

FOURTH LETTER
HOW TO ACHIEVE PEACE

I have just (March 12/25) read in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (No. 517 of March 24) the following telegraphic dispatch from Berlin:

"It is reported from Sweden that Maxim Gorky has sent the government and the Executive Committee greetings couched in enthusiastic terms. He greats the people's victory over the lords of reaction and calls upon all Russia's sons to help erect the edifice of the new Russian state. At the same time he urges the government to crown the cause of emancipation by concluding peace. It must not, he says, be peace at any price; Russia now has less reason than ever to strive for peace at any price. It must be a peace that will enable Russia to live in honour among the other nations of the earth. Mankind has shed much blood; the new government would render not only Russia, but all mankind, the greatest service if it succeeded in concluding an early peace."

That is how Maxim Gorky's letter is reported.

It is with deep chagrin that one reads this letter, impregnated through and through with stock philistine prejudices. The author of these lines has had many occasions, in meetings with Gorky in Capri, to warn and reproach him for his political mistakes. Gorky parried these reproaches with his inimitable charming smile and with the ingenuous remark: "I know I am a bad Marxist. And besides, we artists are all somewhat irresponsible." It is not easy to argue against that.

There can be no doubt that Gorky's is an enormous artistic talent which has been, and will be, of great benefit to the world proletarian movement.

But why should Gorky meddle in politics?

In my opinion, Gorky's letter expresses prejudices that are exceedingly widespread not only among the petty bourgeoisie, but also among a section of the workers under its influence. *All* the energies of our Party, all the efforts of the class-conscious workers, must be concentrated on a persistent, persevering, all-round struggle against these prejudices.

The tsarist government began and waged the present war as an *imperialist*, predatory war to rob and strangle weak nations. The government of the Guchkovs and Milyukovs, which is a landlord and capitalist government, is forced to continue, and wants to continue, *this very same kind* of war. To urge that government to conclude a democratic peace is like preaching virtue to brothel keepers.

Let me explain what is meant.

What is imperialism?

In my *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, the manuscript of which was delivered to the Parus Publishers some time before the revolution, was accepted by them and announced in the magazine *Letopis*,[145] I answered this question as follows:

"Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed" (Chapter VII of the above-mentioned book, the publication of which was announced in *Letopis*, when the censorship still existed, under the title: "Modern Capitalism", by V. Ilyin).*

The whole thing hinges on the fact that capital has grown to huge dimensions. Associations of a small number of the biggest capitalists (cartels, syndicates, trusts) manipulate *billions* and divide the whole world among themselves.

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* See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 266-67.—*Ed.*

The world has been *completely* divided up. The war was brought on by the clash of the two most powerful groups of multimillionaires, Anglo-French and German, for the *redivision* of the world.

The Anglo-French group of capitalists wants first to rob Germany, deprive her of her colonies (nearly all of which have already been seized), and then to rob Turkey.

The German group of capitalists wants to seize Turkey for *itself* and to compensate itself for the loss of its colonies by seizing neighbouring small states (Belgium, Serbia, Rumania).

This is the real truth; it is being concealed by all sorts of bourgeois lies about a "liberating", "national" war, a "war for right and justice", and similar jingle with which the capitalists always fool the common people.

Russia is waging this war with foreign money. Russian capital is a *partner* of Anglo-French capital. Russia is waging the war in order to rob Armenia, Turkey, Galicia.

Guchkov, Lvov and Milyukov, our present ministers, are not chance comers. They are the representatives and leaders of the entire landlord and capitalist class. They are *bound* by the interests of capital. The capitalists can no more renounce their interests than a man can lift himself by his bootstraps.

Secondly, Guchkov-Milyukov and Co. are *bound* by Anglo-French capital. They have waged, and are still waging, the war with foreign money. They have borrowed billions, promising to pay *hundreds of millions* in interest *every year*, and to squeeze this *tribute* out of the Russian workers and Russian peasants.

Thirdly, Guchkov-Milyukov and Co. are *bound* to England, France, Italy, Japan and other groups of robber capitalists by direct *treaties* concerning the predatory aims of this war. These treaties were concluded by *Tsar Nicholas II*. Guchkov-Milyukov and Co. took advantage of the workers' struggle against the tsarist monarchy to seize power, and *they have confirmed the treaties* concluded by the tsar.

This was done by the whole of the Guchkov-Milyukov government in a Manifesto which the St. Petersburg Telegraph Agency circulated on March 7(20): "The government

[of Guchkov and Milyukov] will faithfully abide by all the treaties that bind us with other powers," says the manifesto. Milyukov, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, said the *same thing* in his telegram of March 5 (18), 1917 to all Russian representatives abroad.

These are all *secret* treaties, and Milyukov and Co. *refuse* to make them public for two reasons: (1) they fear the people, who are opposed to the predatory war; (2) they are bound by Anglo-French capital which insists that the treaties remain secret. But every newspaper reader who has followed events knows that these treaties envisage the robbery of China by Japan; of Persia, Armenia, Turkey (especially Constantinople) and Galicia by Russia; of Albania by Italy; of Turkey and the German colonies by France and England, etc.

This is how things stand.

Hence, to urge the Guchkov-Milyukov government to conclude a speedy, honest, democratic and good-neighbourly peace is like the good village priest urging the landlords and the merchants to "walk in the way of God", to love their neighbours and to turn the other cheek. The landlords and merchants listen to these sermons, continue to oppress and rob the people and praise the priest for his ability to console and pacify the "muzhiks".

Exactly the same role is played—consciously or unconsciously—by all those who in the present imperialist war address pious peace appeals to the bourgeois governments. The bourgeois governments either refuse to listen to such appeals and even prohibit them, or they allow them to be made and assure all and sundry that they are only fighting to conclude the speediest and "justest" peace, and that all the blame lies with the enemy. Actually, talking peace *to bourgeois* governments turns out to be *deception of the people*.

The groups of capitalists who have drenched the world in blood for the sake of dividing territories, markets and concessions *cannot* conclude an "honourable" peace. They can conclude only a *shameful* peace, a peace based *on the division of the spoils*, *on the partition of Turkey and the colonies*.

Moreover, the Guchkov-Milyukov government is in general opposed to peace at the present moment, because the

"*only*" "loot" it would get *now* would be Armenia and part of Galicia, whereas it *also* wants to get Constantinople *and* regain from the Germans Poland, which tsarism has always so inhumanly and shamelessly oppressed. Further, the Guchkov-Milyukov government is, in essence, only the agent of Anglo-French capital, which wants to retain the colonies it has wrested from Germany and, *on top of that*, compel Germany hand back Belgium and part of France. Anglo-French capital helped the Guchkovs and Milyukovs remove Nicholas II in order that they might help it to "vanquish" Germany.

What, then, is to be done?

To achieve peace (and still more to achieve a really democratic, a really honourable peace), it is necessary that political power be in the hands of *the workers and poorest peasants*, not the landlords and capitalists. The latter represent an insignificant minority of the population, and the capitalists, as everybody knows, are making fantastic profits out of the war.

The workers and poorest peasants are the *vast* majority of the population. They are not making profit out of the war; on the contrary, they are being reduced to ruin and starvation. They are bound neither by capital nor by the treaties between the predatory groups of capitalists; they *can* and sincerely want to end the war.

If political power in Russia were in the hands of the *Soviets* of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, these Soviets, and the *All-Russia Soviet* elected by them, could, and no doubt would, agree to carry out the peace programme which our Party (the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party) outlined as early as October 13, 1915, in No. 47 of its Central Organ, *Sotsial-Demokrat** (then published in Geneva because of the Draconic tsarist censorship).

This programme would probably be the following:

1) The All-Russia Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies (or the St. Petersburg Soviet temporarily acting for it) would forthwith declare that it is *not* bound by *any* treaties concluded *either* by the tsarist monarchy *or* by the bourgeois governments.

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* See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 401-04.—*Ed.*

2) It would forthwith publish *all* these treaties in order to hold up to public shame the predatory aims of the tsarist monarchy and of *all* the bourgeois governments without exception.

3) It would forthwith publicly call upon *all* the belligerent powers to conclude an *immediate armistice*.

4) It would immediately bring to the knowledge of all the people our, the workers' and peasants' *peace terms*:

liberation of *all* colonies;

liberation of *all* dependent, oppressed and unequal nations.

5) It would declare that it expects nothing good from the bourgeois governments and calls upon the workers of all countries to overthrow them and to transfer all political power to Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

6) It would declare that the *capitalist gentry themselves* can repay the billions of debts contracted by the bourgeois governments to wage this criminal, predatory war and that the workers and peasants *refuse to recognise* these debts. To pay the interest on these loans would mean paying the capitalists *tribute* for many years for having graciously allowed the workers to kill one another in order that the capitalists might divide the spoils.

Workers and peasants!—the Soviet of Workers' Deputies would say—are you willing to pay these gentry, the capitalists, *hundreds of millions* of rubles *every year* for a war waged for the division of the African colonies, Turkey, etc.?

For *these* peace terms the Soviet of Workers' Deputies would, in my opinion, agree to *wage war* against *any* bourgeois government and against *all* the bourgeois governments of the world, because this would really be a just war, because *all* the workers and toilers in *all* countries would *work for its success*.

The German worker now sees that the bellicose monarchy in Russia is being replaced by a *bellicose* republic, a republic of capitalists who want to continue the imperialist war, and who have confirmed the predatory treaties of the Tsarist monarchy.

Judge for yourselves, can the German worker trust *such* a republic?

Judge for yourselves, can the war continue, can the capitalist domination continue on earth, if the Russian people, always sustained by the living memories of the great Revolution of 1905, win complete freedom and transfer all political power to the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies?

N. Lenin

Zurich, March 12 (25), 1917

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LETTERS FROM AFAR

FIFTH LETTER

THE TASKS INVOLVED IN THE BUILDING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAN STATE

In the preceding letters, the immediate tasks of the revolutionary proletariat in Russia were formulated as follows: (1) to find the surest road to the next stage of the revolution, or to the second revolution, which (2) must transfer political power from the government of the landlords and capitalists (the Guchkovs, Lvovs, Milyukovs, Kerenskys) to a government of the workers and poorest peasants. (3) This latter government must be organised on the model of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, namely, (4) it must smash, completely eliminate, the old state machine, the army, the police force and bureaucracy (officialdom), that is common to *all* bourgeois states, and substitute for this machine (5) not only a mass organisation, but a universal organisation of the entire armed people. (6) *Only* such a government, of "such" a class composition ("revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry") and such organs of government ("proletarian militia") *will be capable* of successfully carrying out the extremely difficult and absolutely urgent *chief* task of the moment, namely: to achieve *peace*, not an imperialist peace, not a deal between the imperialist powers concerning the division of the booty by the capitalists and their governments, but a really lasting and democratic peace, which cannot be achieved without a proletarian revolution in a number of countries. (7) In Russia the victory of the proletariat can be achieved in the very near future

only if, from the very first step, the workers are supported by the vast majority of the peasants fighting for the confiscation of the landed estates (and for the nationalisation of all the land, if we assume that the agrarian programme of the "104" is still essentially the agrarian programme of the *peasantry*[146]). (8) In connection with such a peasant revolution, and on its basis, the proletariat can and must, in alliance with the *poorest* section of the peasantry, take further steps towards *control* of the production and distribution of the basic products, towards the introduction of "universal labour service", etc. These steps are dictated, with absolute inevitability, by the conditions created by the war, which in many respects will become still more acute in the post-war period. In their entirety and in their development these steps will mark the *transition to socialism*, which cannot be achieved in Russia directly, at one stroke, without transitional measures, but is quite achievable and urgently necessary as a result of such transitional measures. (9) In this connection, the task of immediately organising special Soviets of Workers' Deputies in the *rural districts*, i.e., Soviets of agricultural *wage*-workers *separate* from the Soviets of the other peasant deputies, comes to the forefront with extreme urgency.

Such, briefly, is the programme we have outlined, based on an appraisal of the class forces in the Russian and world revolution, and also on the experience of 1871 and 1905.

Let us now attempt a general survey of this programme as a whole and, in passing, deal with the way the subject was approached by K. Kautsky, the chief theoretician of the "Second" (1889-1914) International and most prominent representative of the "Centre", "marsh" trend that is now to be observed in all countries, the trend that oscillates between the social-chauvinists and the revolutionary internationalists. Kautsky discussed this subject in his magazine *Die Neue Zeit* of April 6, 1917 (new style) in an article entitled, "The Prospects of the Russian Revolution".

"First of all," writes Kautsky, "we must ascertain what tasks confront the revolutionary proletarian regime" (state system).

"Two things," continues the author, "are urgently needed by the proletariat: democracy and socialism."

Unfortunately, Kautsky advances this absolutely incontestable thesis in an exceedingly general form, so that in essence he says nothing and explains nothing. Milyukov and Kerensky, members of a bourgeois and imperialist government, would readily subscribe to this general thesis, one to the first part, and the other to the second....*

Written on March 26 (April 8), 1917

First published in the magazine *Bolshevik* No. 3-4, 1924

Published according to the manuscript

* The manuscript breaks off here.—*Ed.*

TO OUR COMRADES IN WAR-PRISONER CAMPS[147]

Comrades, a revolution has taken place in Russia.

The Petrograd and Moscow workers were again in the vanguard of the great freedom movement. They staged a political strike. They demonstrated in the streets under the Red Flag. They fought like lions against the tsarist police, gendarmerie and the small section of the army that did not immediately side with the people. More than 2,000 were killed and wounded in Petrograd alone. The Russian workers bought our country's freedom at the price of their blood.

The workers' demands were: *bread*, *freedom*, *peace*.

Bread—because, as in nearly every other country involved in this robber war, the Russian people are suffering from hunger.

Freedom—because the tsarist government, taking advantage of the war, finally turned the whole of Russia into one big prison.

Peace—because the Russian workers, like class-conscious workers in all other countries, do not want to go on dying for the interests of a handful of the rich, do not want to continue this criminal war, started by crowned and uncrowned freebooters.

The insurgent workers were joined by most of the men of the Petrograd and Moscow garrisons. The workers and peasants in soldier's uniform extended a hand of brotherhood to the workers and peasants not in uniform. The honest-minded part of the officer corps joined the revolution. Officers who tried to go against the people were shot down by the soldiers.

The revolution was carried out by the workers and soldiers. But, as has often been the case in other revolutions,

power was at once seized by the bourgeoisie. The state Duma, with its overwhelming majority of landlords and capitalists, did everything it could to come to terms with Tsar Nicholas II. Even at the last moment, when civil war was raging in the streets of Petrograd, the State Duma sent the tsar one telegram after another imploring him to consent to minor concessions in order to save his crown. *The tsar was overthrown by the insurgent workers and soldiers*, not by the State Duma—the Duma of the landlords and the rich. But the State Duma appointed the new, Provisional Government.

It consists of representatives of the liberal capitalists and the big landowners. The chief posts in the government have gone to Prince Lvov (a big landowner and ultra-moderate liberal), A. Guchkov (an associate of Stolypin; he approved the court-martialling of revolutionaries), Tereshchenko (millionaire sugar king), Milyukov (always supported, and continues to support, the predatory war into which our country was embroiled by Tsar Nicholas and his gang). The "democrat" Kerensky has been brought in only to create the semblance of a "people's" government and to have a "democratic" stump speaker to feed the people high-falutin but empty *phrases*, while the Guchkovs and Lvovs *work against* the people.

The new government wants to continue the robber war. It is the agent of the Russian, English and French capitalists who—like the German capitalists—are determined to "fight it out" and secure for themselves the best part of the booty. The new government cannot give Russia peace, nor does it want to.

It does not want to turn the landed estates over to the people, nor does it want to make the rich hear the burden of the war. For that reason it cannot give the people bread. The workers and the poor population generally are being forced to suffer hunger just as before.

The new government consists of capitalists and landlords. It does not want to give Russia full freedom. Under pressure from the insurgent workers and soldiers it has promised to convene a constituent Assembly to decide how Russia should be governed. But it is delaying elections to the constituent assembly in an attempt to win time and

Российская Соціаль-Демократическая Рабочая Партія

Пролетаріи всѣхъ странъ, соединяйтесь!

ТОВАРИЩАМЪ, ТОМЯЩИМСЯ ВЪ ПЛѢНУ.

Товарищи! Въ Россіи произошла революція.

Рабочіе Петрограда и Москвы снова выступили застрѣльщиками великаго освободительнаго движенія. Они объявили политическую забастовку. Они вышли на улицу съ красными знаменами. Они дрались, какъ львы, съ царской полиціей, жандармеріей и той небольшой частью войскъ, которая не сразу перешла на сторону народа. Убитыхъ и раненыхъ въ одномъ Петроградѣ насчитываютъ болѣе 2000 человѣкъ. Своею кровью русскіе рабочіе купили свободу нашей странѣ.

Требованія рабочихъ были: *хлѣба, свободы, мира.*

Хлѣба — потому что народъ въ Россіи голодаетъ, какъ и во всѣхъ почти странахъ, участвующихъ въ нынѣшней грабительской войнѣ.

Свободы — потому что царское правительство, пользуясь войной, окончательно превратило всю Россію въ одну сплошную тюрьму.

Мира — потому, что рабочіе Россіи, какъ и болѣе сознательные рабочіе другихъ странъ, не хотятъ больше умирать за интересы кучки богачей, не хотятъ болѣе вести преступную войну, начатую коронованными и не-коронованными разбойниками.

Большинство солдатъ петербургскаго и московскаго гарнизоновъ перешли на сторону возставшихъ рабочихъ. Рабочіе и крестьяне въ солдатскихъ мундирахъ братски подали руку рабочимъ и крестьянамъ безъ мундировъ. Лучшая часть офицерства примкнула къ революціи. Офицеровъ, пожелавшихъ идти противъ народа, солдаты разстрѣляли.

Революцію сдѣлали рабочіе и солдаты. Но власть, какъ это бывало и въ другихъ революціяхъ, на первыхъ порахъ захватила буржуазія. Государственная Дума, въ которой огромное большинство принадлежитъ помѣщикамъ и капиталистамъ, всѣми силами старалась помириться съ царемъ Николаемъ II. Еще въ послѣднюю минуту, когда на улицахъ Петрограда уже кипѣла гражданская война, Государственная Дума посылала царю телеграмму за телеграммой, умоляя его пойти на маленькія уступки и тѣмъ сохранить свою корону. Не Государственная Дума — Дума помѣщиковъ и богачей — *а возставшіе рабочіе и солдаты низвергли царя.* Но новое временное правительство назначено Государственной Думой.

Это временное правительство состоитъ изъ представителей либеральныхъ капиталистовъ и крупныхъ земельныхъ собственниковъ. Главные посты въ немъ принадлежатъ: князю Львову (крупный помѣщикъ и умѣреннѣйшій либералъ), А. Гучкову (соратникъ Столыпина, въ свое время одобрявшій военные суды противъ революціонеровъ), Терещенко (крупнѣйшій сахарозаводчикъ-милліонеръ), Милюкову (всегда защищалъ и защищаетъ теперь грабительскую войну, въ которую нашу страну втравили царь Николай съ его шайкой). «Демократъ» Керенскій приглашенъ въ новое правительство только для того, чтобы создать видимость «народнаго» правительства, чтобы имѣть «демократическаго» краснобая, который говорилъ-бы народу громкія, но пустыя, *слова*, въ то время, какъ Гучковы и Львовы будутъ дѣлать анти-народное *дѣло*.

Новое правительство хочетъ продолженія разбойничьей войны. Оно является приказчикомъ русскихъ, англійскихъ и французскихъ капиталистовъ, которые — какъ и нѣмецкіе капиталисты — хотятъ непремѣнно «додраться» и выторговать себѣ лучшіе куски добычи. Оно не хочетъ и не можетъ дать Россіи мира.

Новое правительство не хочетъ отнять у помѣщиковъ ихъ земли въ пользу народа, оно не хочетъ возложить тяготъ войны на богачей. Оно не можетъ поэтому дать народу хлѣба. Рабочіе и бѣдное населеніе вообще вынуждены попрежнему голодать.

Новое правительство состоитъ изъ капиталистовъ и помѣщиковъ. Оно не хочетъ дать Россіи полной свободы. Подъ давленіемъ возставшихъ рабочихъ и солдатъ оно обѣщало созвать Учредительное Собраніе, которое рѣшило-бы какъ устроить Россію. Но оно оттягиваетъ назначеніе выборовъ въ Учредительное Собраніе, желая выиграть время и потомъ обмануть народъ, какъ это не разъ въ исторіи дѣлали подобныя правительства. Оно не хочетъ созданія въ Россіи демократической республики. Оно хочетъ только, вмѣсто плохого царя Николая II, посадить на престолъ якобы «хорошаго» царя Михаила. Оно хочетъ, чтобы власть въ Россіи имѣлъ не самъ народъ, а новый царь вмѣстѣ съ буржуазіей.

Такое новое правительство.

Но въ Петроградѣ рядомъ съ этимъ правительствомъ постепенно организуется другое правительство. Рабочіе и солдаты образовали Совѣтъ рабочихъ и солдатскихъ депутатовъ. Каждая тысяча рабочихъ или солдатъ выбираютъ одного депутата. Этотъ совѣтъ засѣдаетъ теперь въ Таврическомъ дворцѣ въ числѣ болѣе чѣмъ 1000 уполномоченныхъ. И онъ является дѣйствительно народнымъ представительствомъ.

First page of the leaflet,
"To Our Comrades in War-Prisoner Camps". 1917
Reduced

First page of the leaflet,
"To Our Comrades in War-Prisoner Camps". 1917
Reduced

then deceive the people, as similar governments have done many times before. It does not want Russia to be a democratic republic. All it wants is to replace the bad Tsar Nicholas II with an allegedly good Tsar, Mikhail. It wants Russia to be ruled not by her people, but by a new tsar together with the bourgeoisie.

Such is this new government.

But alongside it another government is gradually taking shape in Petrograd—the workers and soldiers have set up their Soviet, with one elected deputy from each thousand workers or soldiers. It meets in the Taurida Palace and now has more than 1,000 members. And it is genuinely representative of the people.

The Soviet might make certain mistakes at first. But it is coming to demand, in a loud and powerful voice, peace, bread and a democratic republic.

The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies insists on *immediate* convocation of the Constituent Assembly and soldier participation in the elections and in deciding the issue of war and peace. It insists on the transfer to the peasants of land belonging to the tsar and the landlords. It insists on a republic and will not hear of a new, "good" tsar. It demands universal and equal suffrage for all men and women. It has secured the arrest of the tsar and tsarina. The Soviet wants to appoint a watch committee which would check on every step of the new government and would itself become the factual government. The Soviet is working for alliance with the workers of all other countries for joint attack on the capitalists. Many revolutionary workers have gone to the front in order, taking advantage of the newly won freedom, to arrange with the soldiers for united action to end the war, assure the people their rights and consolidate Russia's freedom. The Social-Democratic paper *Pravda*[148] has resumed publication in Petrograd and is helping the workers carry out all these great tasks.

Such, comrades, is the position today.

You war prisoners cannot remain indifferent. You must be prepared for the great task that will fall to you, and perhaps very soon.

The enemies of Russian freedom sometimes count on you. They say: there are about two million Russian war prisoners;

if they side with the tsar when they return home, we could again put Nicholas or his "beloved" brother back on the throne. History knows instances when yesterday's enemies, having made peace with an overthrown tsar, returned to him his imprisoned soldiers in order that they may help him fight his own people....[149]

Comrades, wherever you have the opportunity, discuss the great events taking place in our country. Declare with full voice that you stand together with the best part of the Russian soldiers, that you do not want a tsar, that you demand a free republic, uncompensated transfer of the landed estates to the peasants, an eight-hour day, immediate convocation of the Constituent Assembly. Declare that you stand on the side of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' deputies, that on your return to Russia you will be not with the tsar, but against him, not with the landlords and the rich, but against them.

Organise wherever you have the chance, adopt resolutions endorsing the above demands, explain to your more backward comrades the meaning of the great events taking place in our country.

You have gone through enough torment before and during the war and as war prisoners. Now we are advancing towards better days. The dawn of freedom has risen.

Return to Russia as an army of the revolution, an army of the people, not an army of the tsar. In 1905, too, the prisoners of war returning from Japan were the best fighters for freedom.

When you return home you will go to every part of the country. And you must carry a message of freedom to every remote corner, to every Russian village that has suffered so much from hunger, taxes and humiliation. Enlighten your peasant brothers, banish ignorance from the villages, call on the peasant poor to support the workers of town and country in their glorious struggle.

Having won a republic, the Russian workers will unite with the workers of all other countries and will boldly lead the whole of mankind to *socialism*, a system in which there will be neither rich nor poor, and in which a handful of rich will no longer be able to convert millions into their wage-slaves.

Comrades, at the very first opportunity we shall return to Russia to join our brothers, the workers and soldiers, in their struggle. But in Russia, too, we shall not forget you. From free Russia we will try to send you books, newspapers, and news of what is happening in our country. We will demand that you be adequately supplied with money and food. And we shall tell the insurgent workers and soldiers: You can rely on your brothers languishing in war-prisoner camps; they are sons of the people and they will stand shoulder to shoulder with you in the battle for freedom, for a republic and against the tsar.

Editorial Board of *Sotsial-Demokrat*

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Printed as a leaflet in 1917

Published according to the leaflet text

THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES

Comrade workers,

The prediction of the socialists who have remained faithful to socialism and have not succumbed to the savage and beastly war hysteria has proved correct. The first revolution, caused by the world-wide predatory war among the capitalists of various countries, has broken out. The imperialist war, that is, a war for the capitalist division of spoils, for the strangling of weak nations, has *begun* to turn into civil war, that is, a war of the workers against the capitalists, of the toilers and the oppressed against their oppressors, against tsars and kings, landowners and capitalists, a war for mankind's complete liberation from wars, from poverty of the masses, from oppression of man by man!

To the Russian workers has fallen the honour and the good fortune of being the *first* to start the revolution—the great and only legitimate and just war, the war of the oppressed against the oppressors.

The St. Petersburg workers have vanquished the tsarist monarchy. Having started the uprising unarmed in face of machine-guns, in their heroic struggle against the police and the tsar's armies, the workers won over the majority of the soldiers of the St. Petersburg garrison. The same thing occurred in Moscow and in other cities. Abandoned by his armies, the tsar had to capitulate: he signed an abdication on behalf of himself and his son. He suggested that the throne be transferred to his brother Mikhail.

Owing to the great rapidity of the revolution, the direct assistance of the Anglo-French capitalists, insufficient class-consciousness of the *mass* of the workers and the people

in St. Petersburg, the organisation and preparedness of the Russian landowners and capitalists, *they* succeeded in seizing power. The key posts, the premiership and the Ministries of the Interior and War, in the new Russian government, the "Provisional Government", have gone to Lvov and Guchkov, the Octobrists who had done their best to help Nicholas the Bloody and Stolypin the Hangman crush the Revolution of 1905, shoot down and hang workers and peasants fighting for land and freedom. The less important, ministerial posts have gone to the Cadets: Foreign Affairs to Milyukov, Education to Manuilov, Agriculture to Shingaryov. One quite insignificant post, that of Minister of Justice, has gone to the glib-tongued Trudovik Kerensky, whom the capitalists need to pacify the people with empty promises, fool them with high-sounding phrases, reconcile them to the government of landlords and capitalists who, in union with the capitalists of England and France, want to continue the predatory war, a war for the seizure of Armenia, Constantinople, Galicia, a war to enable the Anglo-French capitalists to *retain* the booty they have taken from the German capitalists (all Germany's African colonies), and, at the same time, *recover* the spoils seized by the German capitalist robbers (part of France, Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, etc.).

The workers could not, of course, trust such a government. They had overthrown the tsarist monarchy in their fight for *peace*, *bread* and *freedom*. They immediately saw why Guchkov, Milyukov and Co. succeeded in wresting victory from the hands of the working people. The reason was that the Russian landlords and capitalists were well prepared and organised; that they had on their side the power of capital, the *wealth* both of the Russian capitalists and of the richest capitalists in the world, the English and the French. The workers realised from the very start that in order to fight for peace, bread, and freedom, the labouring classes, the workers, soldiers and peasants, must *organise*, close their ranks, unite *independently* of the capitalists and *against* the capitalists.

Thus the St. Petersburg workers, having overthrown the tsarist monarchy, immediately set up their *own* organisation, the *Soviet of Workers' Deputies*, immediately proceeded

to strengthen and extend it, to organise *independent* Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Only a few days after the revolution, the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies comprised *over 1,500* deputies of workers and peasants dressed in soldier's uniform. It enjoyed such wide confidence among the railway workers and the entire mass of the labouring population that it began to develop into a real *people's government.*

And even the most faithful friends and patrons of Guchkov-Milyukov, even the most faithful watchdogs of Anglo-French predatory capital, the staff correspondent of the richest newspaper of the English capitalists, Robert Wilson of *The Times*, and the staff correspondent of the richest paper of the French capitalists, Charles Rivet of *Le Temps*, even they, while hurling curses at the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, have been obliged to admit that *there are two governments in Russia.* One—recognised by "everybody" (actually, by everybody among the *wealthy*), the landlord and capitalist government of the Guchkovs and the Milyukovs. The other—recognised by "nobody" (of the wealthy classes), the government of the workers and the peasants—the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies that is trying to establish Soviets of Workers' and Soviets of Peasants' Deputies *throughout Russia.*

Let us see, now, what each of these two governments is saying and doing.

1. *What is the landlord and capitalist government of Lvov-Guchkov-Milyukov doing?*

It is handing out the most glowing promises right and left. It promises the Russian people the fullest freedom. It promises to convoke a national Constituent Assembly to determine Russia's form of government. Kerensky and the Cadet leaders declare themselves in favour of a democratic republic. The Guchkovs-Milyukovs are unsurpassed masters of theatrical revolutionism. Their publicity machine is working at top speed. But what about their *deeds*?

While promising freedom, the new government actually negotiated with the tsar's family, with the dynasty, with a view to restoring the monarchy. It invited Mikhail Romanov to become regent, that is, temporary tsar. The monarchy of Russia would have been restored, had not the Guchkovs

and the Milyukovs been stopped by the workers, who marched through the streets of St. Petersburg and inscribed on their banners: "Land and Freedom! Death to the Tyrants!"—who, together with the cavalry regiments, assembled on the square in front of the Duma and unfurled banners with the inscription: "Long Live Socialist Republics in All Countries!" Mikhail Romanov, the ally of the Guchkovs-Milyukovs, realised that in this situation it would be wiser to decline the offer, pending his election to the throne by the constituent assembly, and Russia has—temporarily—remained a republic.

The government did not deprive the former tsar of his freedom. The workers compelled his arrest. The government wanted to hand over the command of the army to Nikolai Nikolayevich Romanov. The workers forced his removal. Obviously, were there no Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the landlords, the Lvovs-Guchkovs, would come to terms with a Romanov or with some other landowner.

In its manifesto to the people and in Milyukov's telegram to all Russian representatives abroad, the government declared that it *would abide by all* the international treaties entered into by Russia. These treaties had been concluded by the deposed tsar. The government does not dare to publish them—first, because it is bound hand and foot by Russian, English and French capital; second, because it fears that the people would tear the Guchkovs and the Milyukovs to pieces if they discovered that the capitalists were ready to sacrifice another five or ten million workers and peasants in order to win Constantinople, strangle Galicia, etc.

What, then, is the value of these promises of freedom, if the people are not allowed to know the truth about the treaties of the landowner tsar, for which the capitalists are prepared to shed more and more soldiers' blood?

And what is the value of the promises of various freedoms, and even of a democratic republic, to a people threatened with famine, a people whom they wish to lead blindfold to the slaughter in order that the Russian, English, and French capitalists may rob the German capitalists?

At the same time the government of the Guchkovs and Milyukovs is suppressing by sheer force every attempt of the Russian workers to come to an understanding with their

brothers, the workers of other countries: the government does *not permit Pravda*, which resumed publication in St. Petersburg after the revolution, the manifesto issued in St. Petersburg by the Central Committee of our Party, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, or the proclamations of Duma Deputy Chkheidze and his group, to be sent abroad.

Workers and peasants! You can rest assured: you have been promised freedom—freedom for the dead, freedom for those who have died of hunger, who have been slaughtered in the war!

In none of its programmes has the new government said a *single word* about land for the peasants or higher wages for the workers. No date has as yet been set for convocation of the constituent assembly. No elections to the St. Petersburg City Council have as yet been appointed. The people's militia is being placed under the supervision of rural and urban local government bodies which, in accordance with the Stolypin law, were elected only by capitalist and the richest landowners. Governors are being appointed from the landowning class—and this is "freedom"!

2. *What is the government of the workers and peasants doing, and what should it do?...**

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Published according to the manuscript

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* The manuscript break off here.—*Ed.*

THE TASKS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION[150]

REPORT OF A LECTURE

Lenin's two-and-a-half-hour lecture consisted of two parts. In the first, Lenin surveyed the historical conditions which could, and did, produce such a "miracle" as the collapse of the tsarist monarchy in a matter of eight days. The most important of these was the "great rebellion" of 1905-07, so vilely denounced by the Guchkovs and Milyukovs, the present masters of the situation, who are moved to admiration by the "glorious revolution" of 1917. But had the really profound Revolution of 1905 not "ploughed up the ground", had it not exposed to view all the parties and classes in action, had it not exposed the tsarist clique in all its barbarism and savagery, the swift victory of 1917 would not have been possible.

In 1917 a very exceptional conjuncture of circumstances made it possible to merge together the attacks of the most diverse social forces against tsarism. First, Anglo-French finance capital, which more than any other dominates and robs the whole world, opposed the Revolution in 1905 and helped the tsar crush it (the 1906 loan). But it took a very active and direct part in the present revolution, organising the conspiracy of the Guchkovs, Milyukovs and part of the army high command to depose Nicholas II or force him to make concessions. From the standpoint of world politics and international finance capital, the Guchkov-Milyukov government is no more than an agent of the banking firm "England and France", an instrument for continuing the

imperialist slaughter. Second, as a result of the military defeats sustained by tsarism, the old officer corps was replaced by new, young, predominantly bourgeois, officers. Third, the entire Russian bourgeoisie, which between 1905 and 1914, and particularly between 1914 and 1917, had intensively organised its forces, joined with the landlords in a common struggle against the decadent tsarist regime in the hope of enriching itself by seizing Armenia, Constantinople, Galicia, etc. Fourth, to these *imperialist* forces was added the deep-going and rapidly unfolding proletarian movement. The proletariat, which performed the revolution, demanded *peace*, *bread* and *freedom*. It had nothing in common with the imperialist bourgeoisie, and it gave leadership to the *majority* of the army, composed of workers and peasants. The conversion of the imperialist war into civil war has *begun*.

Hence, the basic contradiction of the present revolution—one that reveals it merely as the *first* stage of the first revolution brought about by the imperialist war. The Guchkov-Milyukov landlord and capitalist government can give the people neither peace, bread, nor freedom. It is a government for continuing the predatory war. It has openly declared that it will abide by the tsar's international treaties, and these are all predatory treaties. At best, it might *postpone* the crisis, but it *cannot* ward off famine. Nor can it give the country freedom, no matter how many "promises" it makes (promises are cheap), because it is bound by the interests of landlordism and capital. From the very start it tried to arrange a *deal* with the dynasty, the object being to restore the monarchy.

That is why it would be the height of folly to adopt tactics of "supporting" the new government in the interests, supposedly, of "combating reaction". That struggle requires the *arming of the proletariat*—the only serious, effective guarantee both against tsarism and attempts by the Guchkovs and Milyukovs to restore the monarchy.

Deputy Skobelev is therefore right in saying that Russia is "on the eve of a second, real [*wirklich*] revolution".

The people's organisation for this revolution already exists and is growing. That organisation is the Soviet

of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. And it is not for nothing that the agents of Anglo-French capital, the correspondents of *The Times* and *Le Temps*, are so anxious to discredit it.

A close study of the press reports relating to the Soviet of Workers' Deputies led Lenin to conclude that there were three distinct trends in it. The first comes nearest to social-patriotism. It puts its trust in Kerensky, that hero of the empty phrase, that pawn in the hands of Guchkov and Milyukov, that representative of the worst type of "Louis Blanc politics", past master of the empty promise and of the sonorous phrase in the spirit of the European social-patriots and social-pacifists *à la* Kautsky and Co. In reality, however, he "reconciles" the workers to the continuation of the predatory war. Through Kerensky the imperialist bourgeoisie tells the workers: We shall give you a republic, the eight-hour day (which has *already* been established in St. Petersburg), we promise you all the freedoms—but all this for the express purpose that you will help us rob Turkey and Austria, snatch from German imperialism *its* booty, and assure Anglo-French imperialism its booty.

The second trend is represented by the Central Committee of our Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. The papers have published an extract from the Manifesto of our Central Committee, issued in St. Petersburg on March 18. It demands a democratic republic, the eight-hour day, confiscation of the landed estates and their transfer to the peasants, confiscation of grain stocks, immediate peace negotiations, conducted *not* by the government of Guchkov and Milyukov, but by the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. This Soviet, in the view of the Manifesto, *is* the real revolutionary government (Lenin added that *The Times* correspondent, too, speaks of *two governments* in Russia). Peace negotiations are to be conducted *not* with the bourgeois governments, but with the *proletariat* of all the warring countries. The Manifesto calls upon all workers, peasants and soldiers to elect delegates to the Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

These are the only really socialist, really revolutionary tactics.

The third trend is represented by Chkheidze and his friends. They are *vacillating*, and this is reflected in remarks of *The Times* and *Le Temps*, one minute praising, the next execrating them. When Chkheidze refused to enter the *second* Provisional Government, when he declared that the war was an imperialist war on *both* sides, etc., he was pursuing a proletarian policy. When, however, Chkheidze took part in the *first* Provisional Government (the Duma Committee); when, in § 3 of his proclamation, he demanded "ausreichende Teilnahme der Vertreter der russischen Arbeiterschaft an der Regierung" (participation of internationalists in the government of the imperialist war!); when (together with Skobelev) he invited this *imperialist* government to open peace negotiations (instead of explaining to the workers that the *bourgeoisie* is bound hand and foot by the interests of finance capital which cannot break with imperialism); when friends of Chkheidze—Tulyakov and Skobelev—on the instructions of the Guchkov and Milyukov government try to "pacify" the soldiers who are rising against the liberal generals (the murder of Admiral Nepenin, *bemoaned* even by the German imperialists!)—then Chkheidze and his friends fall into the worst kind of "Louis Blanc politics", follow a *bourgeois* policy and harm the revolution.

Lenin also attacked Gorky's social-pacifist appeal and deplored the fact that the great writer was indulging in politics and reiterating petty-bourgeois prejudices.

The second part of his lecture Lenin devoted to an exposition of proletarian tactics. He described the peculiar historical situation of the *present* moment as a moment of *transition* from the first to the second stage of the revolution, from revolt against tsarism to revolt against the bourgeoisie, against the imperialist war, or transition to a Convention, into which the Constituent Assembly might be turned, *if* the government keeps its "promise" to convene it.

The special task of the moment, one that conforms to this *transitional* situation, is *organisation of the proletariat*. Not the routine type of organisation, to which the betrayers of socialism, the social-patriots and opportunists of all countries, as well as the Kautskyites, confine themselves

but a *revolutionary organisation*. It must, first, embrace the *entire* people and, second, combine *military and government* functions.

The opportunists, who hold sway in the Second International, have distorted the doctrine of Marx and Engels on the state in the period of revolution. Kautsky likewise departed from Marx's views[151] in his debate with Pannekoek (1912). Marx teaches us, on the basis of the experience of the Commune of 1871, that "die Arbeiterklasse nicht die fertige Staatsmaschine einfach in Besitz nehmen und sie für ihre eigenen Zwecke in Bewegung setzen kann". Das Proletariat soll (muß?) diese Maschine (Armee, Polizei, Bürokratie) *zerbrechen*[152]. Das ist es, was die Opportunisten (Sozialpatrioten) und Kautskyaner (Sozialpazifisten) entweder bestreiten oder vertuschen. Das ist die *wichtigste* praktische Lehre der Pariser Kommune und der russischen Revolution von 1905.

Wir unterscheiden uns vonden Anarchisten dadurch, daß wir die Notwendigkeit des *Staates* für die revolutionäre Umwälzung anerkennen. Wir unterscheiden uns aber von den Opportunisten und Kautskyanern dadurch, daß wir sagen: Wir brauchen nicht die "fertige" Staatsmaschinerie, wie sie in den demokratischsten bürgerlichen Republiken existiert, sondern die *unmittelbare Macht bewaffneter und organisierter Arbeiter. Das* ist der Staat, den *wir* brauchen. Das sind, ihrem Wesen nach, die Kommune von 1871 und die *Arbeiterdelegiertenräte* von 1905 und 1917. Auf diesem Fundament müssen wir weiterbauen.* *Prevent* the

* "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machine and wield it for its own purposes." The proletariat must smash this machine (the army, the police, the bureaucracy). It is this that the opportunists (the social-patriots) and Kautskyites (social-pacifists) are denying or minimising. This is the *most important* practical lesson to be learned from the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution of 1905.

We differ from the anarchists in that we recognise that the *state* is necessary to carry out revolutionary transformations. But we differ from the opportunists and the Kautskyites in that we say: we do not need a "ready-made" state machine, such as exists in the most democratic bourgeois republics, but *direct power of the armed and organized workers. That* is the state that *we* need. In their essence the Commune of 1871 and the *Soviets of Workers' Deputies* in 1905 and 1917 are just such a state. On this foundation we must build further.—*Ed.*

re-establishment of the police! Build up the people's militia into a genuine *all people's militia* led by the proletariat, into "our state", with the capitalists paying the workers for time served in the militia. *Supplement the* "*miracles of proletarian heroism*" which the proletariat displayed *yesterday* in battle with tsarism and will display *tomorrow* in battle with the Guchkovs and Milyukovs, with "*miracles of proletarian organisation*". That is the slogan of the moment! That is the earnest of success!

The workers are being impelled onto that path by *objective* conditions: famine, the need to distribute grain stocks, the inevitability of "Zivildienstpflicht"*, the need to secure peace. Our peace terms, Lenin said, are as follows: (1) The Soviet of Workers' Deputies, as a revolutionary government, declares forthwith that it is *not* bound by *any* treaties concluded by the tsarist government or the bourgeoisie; (2) it publishes at once all these vile, predatory treaties; (3) it openly proposes an immediate truce to *all* countries in the war; (4) it proposes the liberation of *all* colonies and of *all* oppressed nations as a condition of peace; (5) it declares that it has no confidence in any of the bourgeois governments and calls on the workers of all countries to overthrow them; (6) it declares that, since the war loans were contracted by the bourgeoisie, they must be paid by the *capitalists*.

This policy would attract to the Soviet of Workers' Deputies the majority of workers and poor peasants. Confiscation of the landed estates would be assured. *This would not yet be socialism*. It would signify the victory of the workers and poor peasants, one that would assure peace, freedom and bread. For *such* peace terms *we*, *too*, would be prepared to fight a *revolutionary* war! Lenin recalled the statement made in No. 47 of *Sotsial-Demokrat* (October 13, 1915) that the Social-Democratic movement does not in advance *renounce* such a revolutionary war.** Assistance from the socialist proletariat of all countries would be assured. The foul appeals of the social-patriots (such as Guesde's

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* Civilian-service duty.—*Ed*.

** See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 401-04.—*Ed*.

disgraceful letter: "First victory, then a republic") would vanish like smoke.

The lecturer concluded with the words: "Long live the Russian Revolution! Long live the world workers' revolution, which has already *begun*!"

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TRICKS OF THE REPUBLICAN CHAUVINISTS[153]

March 30, 1917

I have just read the following in today's early morning edition of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* No. 557, March 30:

"Milan, March 29. Our St. Petersburg correspondent reports the, arrest of a certain *Chernomazov*, editor of the socialist paper *Pravda* which began publication during the revolution. Under the old regime Chernomazov was as a secret-police agent and was paid a monthly salary of two hundred rubles. The newspaper he edited has been clamouring for a socialist republic and bitterly attacking the Provisional Government, with the obvious purpose of serving reaction. In general, anti-government agitation by irresponsible groups leads one to suspect collusion with the old regime and the enemy. Even the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, which is decidedly radical compared with the Provisional Government, has turned away from these groups."

This report is a paraphrase of a telegram appearing in the chauvinist Italian paper, *Corriere della Sera*,[154] Milan, March 29, and sent there from St. Petersburg on March "6, at 10:30 p. m. To explain to the reader the falsification, a thing quite usual among the chauvinists, I must go back a bit.

Under the "old regime", i.e., from April 1912 to July 1914, there was published in St. Petersburg a daily Social-Democratic paper, *Pravda*. It was, in fact, the organ of the *Central Committee* of our Party, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. I used to contribute to it almost daily from Cracow, where I then lived as a political émigré. The Social-Democratic Duma members, Badayev, Muranov, Petrovsky, Shagov, Samoilov (up to the summer of 1914 the group included also Malinovsky), who belonged to our Party and whom the tsar later exiled to Siberia for agitation against the imperialist war, regularly came to Cracow, and we discussed the policies of the paper.

The tsarist government naturally tried not only to surround *Pravda*, whose circulation reached as much as 60,000, with spies, but also to plant provocateurs on its staff. Among these provocateurs was Chernomazov, known in the Party as Miron. He managed to gain the confidence of the Party, and in 1913 became the secretary of *Pravda*.

Having observed, together with the group of Duma members, Chernomazov's activities, we came to the conclusion, first, that his articles compromised our political line, and, second, that his political integrity was open to suspicion.

However, finding a substitute was not easy, all the more so since communication between the Duma group and Cracow was maintained illegally, or through the Duma members visiting Cracow, which they could not do very often. Finally, in the spring of 1914, we succeeded in bringing Rosenfeld (Kamenev) over to St. Petersburg, but toward the end of 1914, he was exiled to Siberia together with our Duma group.

Rosenfeld (Kamenev) was instructed to *remove* Chernomazov, and he did *remove* him from all the affairs of the paper. Chernomazov was dismissed. Our Central Committee ordered an *investigation*, but since it was impossible to find accurate evidence to substantiate the suspicions against Chernomazov, the St. Petersburg comrades did not venture *openly* to brand him as a provocateur. We had to confine ourselves to discharging him from *Pravda*.

That Chernomazov, and of course other provocateurs, helped the tsar banish our Duma members to Siberia, of that there can be no doubt.

A communication from our Party's St. Petersburg "Central Committee Bureau" of November 13, 1916 said Chernomazov was again trying to get into the illegal organisation, that the "Bureau" had removed Miron and an individual connected with him from the organisation, and would "take similar action against anyone who continued to have any dealings with him".

Our reply, of course, was that Chernomazov should not be allowed in the Party, for he had been removed by a decision adopted by the Central Committee and the Duma group.

Such is the story of the *old Pravda*, published under the *old* regime and suppressed by the tsar before the war, in July 1914.

The question arises: Was not Chernomazov, directly or indirectly, connected with the *new Pravda*, which began publication in St. Petersburg *after* the revolution? About this I know nothing, for from the first day of the revolution the Guchkov-Milyukov government does not allow my telegrams to reach *Pravda*, and, of course, *Pravda*'s telegrams to reach me. I do not even know whether the C.C. Bureau is still in existence, or whether Kamenev and the Duma members have returned to St. Petersburg. They know Miron and would have immediately removed him if he had again wormed his way into the organisation by taking advantage of the fact that new people were in charge.[155]

The French social-chauvinist paper *l'Humanité* of March 25 quoted a telegram supposedly received from St. Petersburg by the *Petit Parisien*.[156] In this telegram Chernomazov is referred to as the "*former* editor of the extremist Social-Democratic paper *Pravda*".

The reader will, I hope, now understand the perfidy and the foul methods employed by the government of Guchkov-Milyukov and its friends in their attempt to cast a shadow on our Party by alleging that it is working in collusion with the old regime and the enemy. The government and its friends hate our Party and slander it, because we declared, as far back as October 13, 1915, in No. 47 of our paper *Sotsial-Demokrat* (Geneva), that we were *unconditionally* opposed to the imperialist war, even if it were to be conducted not by the tsarist government, but by a *chauvinist-revolutionary*, *chauvinist-republican* Russian government.*

The Guchkov-Milyukov government is *such* a government, for it has confirmed the *predatory* treaties tsarism concluded with Anglo-French imperialism and in this war is pursuing *predatory* aims (the conquest of Armenia, Galicia, Constantinople, etc.).

(Tomorrow I shall forward this to *Volksrecht* and *Avanti!*)

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Signed: *N. Lenin*

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DECISION OF THE COLLEGIUM ABOARD, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY[157]

The Collegium Abroad of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee resolves to accept Comrade Robert Grimm's proposal concerning the return to Russia via Germany of émigrés desiring to return home.[158]

The Collegium Abroad places on record:

1) That Comrade R. Grimm negotiated with a member of the government of a neutral country, Minister Hoffmann, who did not consider it possible for Switzerland officially to intervene for the only reason that the English Government would doubtlessly interpret this as a breach of neutrality, since England refuses to permit the passage of internationalists;

2) That R. Grimm's proposal is fully acceptable since it guarantees free passage irrespective of political affiliation, or attitude on the "fatherland defence" issue, or on Russia continuing the war or concluding peace, etc.;

3) That the proposal is based on a plan envisaging the exchange of Russian émigrés for German internees in Russia, and that the émigrés have no reason to decline to campaign for such an exchange in Russia;

4) That Comrade R. Grimm has submitted this proposal to representatives of all the trends among the political émigrés, pointing out that in the situation that has arisen this is the only way and that it is fully acceptable under present conditions;

5) That, for our part, we have done everything possible to convince representatives of the different trends of the

need to accept the proposal and of the absolute impermissibility of delay;

6) That the representatives of certain trends have, unfortunately, urged further delay—a decision which we cannot but regard as a grave mistake, and one that does immense damage to the revolutionary movement in Russia.

In accordance with these considerations, the Collegium Abroad of the Central Committee resolves to notify all members of our Party of the acceptance of the proposal and of our immediate departure, and to invite them to register all who wish to make the journey, and send a copy of this decision to the representatives of all other trends.

Zurich, March 31, 1917

First published in 1923

Published according to the manuscript

FAREWELL LETTER TO THE SWISS WORKERS[159]

Comrades, Swiss workers,

Leaving Switzerland for Russia, to continue revolutionary-internationalist activity in our country, we, members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party united under the Central Committee (as distinct from *another* party bearing the *same* name, but united under the Organising Committee), wish to convey to you our fraternal greetings and expression of our profound comradely gratitude for your comradely treatment of the political émigrés.

If the *avowed* social-patriots and opportunists, the Swiss Grütlians who, like the social-patriots of all countries, have deserted the camp of the proletariat for the camp of the bourgeoisie; if these people have *openly* called upon you to fight the harmful influence of foreigners upon the Swiss labour movement; if the *disguised* social-patriots and opportunists who constitute a majority among the leaders of the Swiss Socialist Party[160] have been pursuing similar tactics *under cover*, we consider it our duty to state that on the part of the revolutionary, internationalist socialist workers of Switzerland we have met with warm sympathy, and have greatly benefited from comradely relations with them.

We have always been particularly careful in dealing with questions, acquaintance with which requires prolonged participation in the Swiss movement. But those of us—and there were hardly more than 10 or 15—who have been members of the Swiss Socialist Party have considered it our duty steadfastly to maintain our point of view, the point of view of the Zimmerwald Left, on general and fundamental questions of the international socialist movement. We considered

it our duty determinedly to fight not only social-patriotism, but also the so-called "Centrist" trend to which belong R. Grimm, F. Schneider, Jacques Schmid and others in Switzerland, Kautsky, Haase, and the Arbeitsgemeinschaft in Germany, Longuet, Pressemane and others in France, Snowden, Ramsay MacDonald and others in England, Turati, Treves and their friends in Italy, and the above-mentioned party headed by the Organising Committee (Axelrod, Martov, Chkheidze, Skobelev and others) in Russia.

We have worked hand in hand with the revolutionary Social-Democrats of Switzerland grouped, in particular, around the magazine *Freie Jugend*[161]. They formulated and circulated (in the German and French languages) the proposals for a referendum in favour of a party congress in April 1917 to discuss the party's attitude on the war. At the Zurich cantonal congress in Töss they tabled a resolution on behalf of the youth and the "Lefts" on the war issue,[162] and in March 1917 issued and circulated in certain localities of French Switzerland a leaflet in the German and French languages, entitled "Our Peace Terms", etc.

To these comrades, whose views we share, and with whom we worked hand in hand, we convey our fraternal greetings.

We have never had the slightest doubt that the imperialist government of England will under no circumstances permit the Russian internationalists, who are implacable opponents of the imperialist government of Guchkov-Milyukov and Co. and of Russia continuing the *imperialist* war, to return to Russia.

In this connection, we must briefly explain our understanding of the tasks of the Russian revolution. We believe this all the more necessary because through the Swiss workers we can and must address ourselves to the German, French and Italian workers, who speak the same languages as the population of Switzerland, a country that still enjoys the benefits of peace and relatively, the largest measure of political freedom.

We abide unconditionally by our declaration, which appeared in the Central Organ of our Party, *Sotsial-Democrat* (No. 47, October 13, 1915), published in Geneva. In it we stated that, should the revolution prove victorious in Russia, and should a *republican* government come to power, a

government intent on continuing the *imperialist* war, a war in alliance with the imperialist bourgeoisie of England and France, a war for the seizure of Constantinople, Armenia, Galicia, etc.,—we would most resolutely oppose such a government and would be *against* the "defence of the fatherland" in *such* a war.*

A contingency approaching the above has now arisen. The new government of Russia, which has negotiated with the brother of Nicholas II for restoration of the monarchy, and in which the most important and influential posts are held by the *monarchists* Lvov and Guchkov, this government is trying to deceive the Russian workers with the slogan, "the Germans must overthrow Wilhelm" (correct! but why not add: the English, the Italians, etc., must overthrow their kings, and the Russians their monarchists, Lvov and Guchkov??). By issuing this slogan, but *refusing* to publish the imperialist, predatory treaties concluded by the tsar with France, England, etc., and *confirmed by the government of Guchkov-Milyukov-Kerensky*, this government is trying to represent its *imperialist* war with Germany as a war of "defence" (i.e., as a just war, legitimate even from the standpoint of the proletariat). It is trying to represent a war for the defence of the rapacious, imperialist, predatory aims of capital—Russian, English, etc., as "defence" of the Russian republic (which does *not* yet exist, and which the Lvovs and the Guchkovs have *not* even *promised*!).

If there is any truth in the latest press reports about a rapprochement between the avowed Russian social-patriots (such as Plekhanov, Zasulich, Potresov, etc.) and the "Centre party", the party of the "Organising Committee", the party of Chkheidze, Skobelev, etc., based on the common slogan: "Until the Germans overthrow Wilhelm, our war remains a defensive war,"—if this is true, then we shall redouble our energy in combating the party of Chkheidze, Skobelev, etc., which we have *always* fought for its opportunist, vacillating, unstable political behaviour.

Our slogan is: No support for the Guchkov-Milyukov government! He who says that such support is necessary to prevent restoration of the monarchy is deceiving the people.

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* See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 401-04.—*Ed.*

On the contrary, the Guchkov government has *already* conducted negotiations for restoration of the monarchy in Russia. *Only* the arming and organisation of the proletariat can *prevent* Guchkov and Co. from *restoring* the monarchy in Russia. Only the revolutionary proletariat of Russia and the *whole of Europe*, remaining loyal to internationalism, is capable of ridding humanity of the horrors of the imperialist war.

We do not close our eyes to the tremendous difficulties facing the revolutionary-internationalist vanguard of the Russian proletariat. The most abrupt and swift changes are possible in times such as the present. In No. 47 of *Sotsial-Democrat* we gave a clear and direct answer to the question that naturally arises: What would our Party do, if the revolution *immediately* placed it in power? Our answer was: (1) We would forthwith offer peace to *all* the warring nations; (2) we would announce our peace terms—immediate liberation of *all* the colonies and *all* the oppressed and non-sovereign peoples; (3) we would immediately begin and carry out the liberation of all the peoples oppressed by the Great Russians; (4) we do not deceive ourselves for one moment, we know that these terms would be *unacceptable* not only to the monarchist, but also to the republican bourgeoisie of Germany, and *not only* to Germany, but also to the capitalist governments of England and France.

We would be forced to wage a revolutionary war against the German—and not only the German—bourgeoisie. *And we would wage this war.* We are not pacifists. We are opposed to imperialist wars over the division of spoils among the capitalists, but we have always considered it absurd for the revolutionary proletariat to disavow revolutionary wars that *may* prove necessary *in the interests of socialism.*

The task we outlined in No. 47 of *Sotsial-Demokrat* is a gigantic one. It can be accomplished only by a long series of great class battles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. However, it was not our impatience, nor our wishes, but the *objective conditions* created by the imperialist war that brought the *whole* of humanity to an impasse, that placed it in a dilemma: either allow the destruction of more millions of lives and utterly ruin European civilisation or hand over power in *all* the civilised countries to the revo-

lutionary proletariat, carry through the socialist revolution.

To the Russian proletariat has fallen the great honour of *beginning* the series of revolutions which the imperialist war has made an objective inevitability. But the idea that the Russian proletariat is the chosen revolutionary proletariat among the workers of the world is absolutely alien to us. We know perfectly well that the proletariat of Russia is less organised, less prepared and less class-conscious than the proletariat of other countries. It is not its special qualities, but rather the special conjuncture of historical circumstances that *for a certain*, *perhaps very short*, *time* has made the proletariat of Russia the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world.

Russia is a peasant country, one of the most backward of European countries. Socialism *cannot* triumph there *directly* and *immediately*. But the peasant character of the country, the vast reserve of land in the hands of the nobility, *may*, to judge from the experience of 1905, give tremendous sweep to the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia and *may* make our revolution the *prologue* to the world socialist revolution, a *step* toward it.

Our Party was formed and developed in the struggle for these ideas, which have been fully confirmed by the experience of 1905 and the spring of 1917, in the uncompromising struggle against all the other parties; and we shall continue to fight for these ideas.

In Russia, socialism cannot triumph directly and immediately. But the peasant mass *can* bring the inevitable and matured agrarian upheaval to the point of *confiscating* all the immense holdings of the nobility. This has always been our slogan and it has now again been advanced in St. Petersburg by the Central Committee of our Party and by *Pravda*, our Party's newspaper. The proletariat will fight for *this* slogan, without closing its eyes to the inevitability of cruel class conflicts between the agricultural labourers and the poorest peasants closely allied with them, on the one band, and the *rich peasants*, whose position has been strengthened by Stolypin's agrarian "reform" (1907-14), on the other. The fact should not be overlooked that the 104 peasant deputies in the First (1906) and Second (1907) Dumas

introduced a revolutionary agrarian bill demanding the nationalisation of all lands and their distribution by local committees elected on the basis of complete democracy.

Such a revolution would not, in itself, be socialism. But it would give a great impetus to the world labour movement. It would immensely strengthen the position of the socialist proletariat in Russia and its influence on the agricultural labourers and the poorest peasants. It would enable the city proletariat to develop, on the strength of this influence, such revolutionary organisations as the Soviets of Workers' Deputies to replace the old instruments of oppression employed by bourgeois states, the army, the police, the bureaucracy; to carry out—under pressure of the unbearably burdensome imperialist war and its consequences—a series of revolutionary measures to *control* the production and distribution of goods.

Single-handed, the Russian proletariat cannot bring the socialist revolution to a *victorious conclusion*. But it can give the Russian revolution a mighty sweep that would create the most favourable conditions for a socialist revolution, and would, in a sense, *start* it. It can facilitate the rise of a situation in which its *chief*, its most trustworthy and most reliable collaborator, the *European* and American *socialist* proletariat, could join the decisive battles.

Let the sceptics despair because of the temporary triumph within the European socialist movement of such disgusting lackeys of the imperialist bourgeoisie as the Scheidemanns, Legiens, Davids and Co. in Germany; Sembat, Guesde, Renaudel and Co. in France; the Fabians and the Labourites in England. We are firmly convinced that this filthy froth on the surface of the world labour movement will be soon swept away by the waves of revolution.

In Germany there is already a *seething* unrest of the proletarian masses, who contributed so much to humanity and socialism by their persistent, unyielding, sustained organisational work during the long decades of European "calm", from 1871 to 1914. The future of German socialism is represented not by the traitors, the Scheidemanns, Legiens, Davids and Co., nor by the vacillating and spineless politicians, Haase, Kautsky and their ilk, who have been enfeebled by the routine of the period of "peace".

The future belongs to the trend that has given us Karl Liebknecht, created the Spartacus group, has carried on its propaganda in the Bremen *Arbeiterpolitik*.[163]

The objective circumstances of the imperialist war make it certain that the revolution will not be limited to the *first* stage of the Russian revolution, that the revolution will *not* be limited to Russia.

The German proletariat is the most trustworthy, the most reliable ally of the Russian and the world proletarian revolution.

When, in November 1914, our Party put forward the slogan: "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war" of the oppressed against the oppressors for the attainment of socialism, the social-patriots met this slogan with hatred and malicious ridicule, and the Social-Democratic "Centre", with incredulous, sceptical, meek and expectant silence. David, the German social-chauvinist and social-imperialist, called it "insane", while Mr. Plekhanov, the representative of Russian (and Anglo-French) social-chauvinism, of socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, called it a "farcical dream" (*Mittelding zwischen Traum und Komödie**). The representatives of the Centre confined themselves to silence or to cheap little jokes about this "straight line drawn in empty space".

Now, after March 1917, only the blind can fail to see that it is a correct slogan. Transformation of the imperialist war into civil war is *becoming* a fact.

Long live the proletarian revolution that is *beginning* in Europe!

On behalf of the departing comrades, members of the R.S.D.L.P. (united under the Central Committee), who approved this letter at a meeting held April 8 (new style), 1917.

N. Lenin

Written on March 26 (April 8) 1917

Published in the magazine *Jugend-Internationale* No. 8, May 1917

Published according to the manuscript

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* Something between a dream and a comedy.—*Ed.*

NOTES

[1] This article and the two that follow it were directed against the un-Marxist and anti-Bolshevik attitude of the Bukharin-Pyatakov-Bosh group which began to take shape in the spring of 1915, when preparations were being made for publication of the magazine *Kommunist*. It was to be put out in co-operation with *Sotsial-Demokrat*. Y. L. Pyatakov (P. Kievsky) and Y. B. Bosh undertook to finance the magazine and N. I. Bukharin was made one of its editors. Lenin's differences with the group were accentuated after the appearance of No. 1-2 of *Kommunist* in September 1915. In their theses "On the Self-Determination Slogan", which they sent to *Sotsial-Demokrat*, Bukharin, Pyatakov and Bosh opposed Lenin's theory of socialist revolution, rejected the struggle for democracy in the imperialist era and insisted on the Party withdrawing its demand for national self-determination.

The group did not confine itself to theoretical differences and openly attacked the Party's policy and slogans. It sought to use *Kommunist* in furtherance of its factional aims and tried to dictate terms to the editors of *Sotsial-Demokrat*. Pyatakov and Bosh insisted on the Central Committee Bureau Abroad recognising them as a separate group not accountable to it and authorised to maintain independent connections with Central Committee members in Russia and publish leaflets and other literature. Though this demand was turned down, the group attempted to establish contact with the Central Committee Bureau in Russia.

Lenin was sharply opposed to the Pyatakov-Bosh-Bukharin theses, saying that "we can take no responsibility for them, either direct or indirect—even for harbouring them in the Party, let alone granting them equality". In letters to N. I. Bukharin, Y. L. Pyatakov, G. Y. Zinoviev and A. G. Shlyapnikov, Lenin trenchantly criticised the group's views and anti-Party, factional actions and condemned the conciliatory attitude of Zinoviev and Shlyapnikov. On his proposal, joint publication of *Kommunist* by the *Sotsial-Demokrat* editors and the group was discontinued.

The "Nascent Trend of Imperialist Economism" was written when the *Sotsial-Demokrat* editors had received Bukharin's comments on the theses "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination". The article was not published at the time. p. 13

[2] *Economism* was an opportunist trend in Russian Social-Democracy at the turn of the century, a Russian variety of international

opportunism. The Economists limited the tasks of the working-class movement to the economic struggle for higher wages, better working conditions, etc., maintaining that the political struggle should be left to the liberal bourgeoisie. They denied the leading role of the working-class party. Making a fetish of the spontaneity of the working-class movement, they belittled the importance of revolutionary theory and, by denying the need for a Marxist party to bring socialist consciousness into the working-class movement, cleared the way for bourgeois ideology. They championed the existing disunity, confusion and parochial amateurish approach in the Social-Democratic ranks, and opposed the creation of a centralised working-class party.

Comprehensive criticism by Lenin of the Economist standpoint will be found in his "A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats", "A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy", "Apropos of the *Profession de Foi*" and "A Talk with Defenders of Economism" (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 167-82, 255-85, 286-96, and Vol. 5, pp. 313-20). Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* brought about the ideological rout of Economism (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 347-529). A major part in the struggle against the Economists was also played by the newspaper *Iskra*. p. 13

[3] *Narodniks*—followers of a petty-bourgeois trend, Narodism, in the Russian revolutionary movement, which arose in the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century. The Narodniks stood for the abolition of the autocracy and the transfer of the landed estates to the peasantry. At the same time, they believed capitalism in Russia to be a temporary phenomenon with no prospect of development and they therefore considered the peasantry, not the proletariat, to be the main revolutionary force in Russia. They regarded the village commune as the embryo of socialism. With the object of rousing the peasantry to struggle against the autocracy, the Narodniks "went among the people", to the villages, but found no support there.

In the eighties and nineties the Narodniks adopted a policy of conciliation to tsarism, expressed the interests of the kulak class and waged a bitter fight against Marxism. p. 13

[4] Reference is to the article "Who Will Perform the Political Revolution?" in the symposium *Proletarian Struggle* No. 1, published by the Urals Social-Democratic Group in 1899. The article was republished as a pamphlet by the Kiev Committee. The author, A. A. Sanin, an Economist, was opposed to an independent working-class political party and political revolution, believing that Russia's socialist transformation, which he considered an immediate task, could be accomplished through a general strike. p. 13

[5] Reference is to the *Conference of R.S.D.L.P. groups abroad*, held in Berne between February 14 and 19 (February 27-March 4), 1915. Convened on Lenin's initiative, it assumed the character of a

general Party conference, since neither a Party congress nor an all-Russia conference could be convened during the war.

The Conference was attended by representatives of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee, the R.S.D.L.P. Central Organ, *Sotsial-Demokrat*, the Social-Democrat Women's Organisation and delegates from R.S.D.L.P. groups in Paris, Zurich, Berne, Lausanne, Geneva, London and Baugy. All members of the Berne group and several members of the Lausanne and Baugy groups attended as guests. Lenin was delegated by the Central Committee and Central Organ and directed the work of the Conference.

The main item on the agenda, the war and the tasks of the Party, was introduced by Lenin, who amplified the propositions set out in the Central Committee Manifesto, "The War and Russian Social-Democracy". The resolutions tabled by the Montpellier, and especially the Baugy, groups and adopted by the Conference revealed that some Party members had failed to grasp the implications of Lenin's proposition on civil war. They objected to the slogan of the defeat of one's "own" government and advanced their own slogan of peace, and failed to appreciate the need and importance of combating Centrism. All these questions were thrashed out in the debate, and Lenin's theses were unanimously approved. Only Bukharin persistently supported the erroneous views of the Baugy resolution and objected to the slogans Lenin had formulated for the Party and the international Social-Democratic movement. Bukharin opposed the right of nations to self-determination and the minimum-programme demands in general, contending that they were "contrary" to socialist revolution. However, no one supported Bukharin at the conference. p. 13

[6] Reference is to Bukharin's theses "On the Self-Determination Slogan", written in November 1915 and submitted to the editors of *Sotsial-Demokrat* over the signatures of Bukharin, Pyatakov and Bosh. p. 13

[7] This refers to the ''Programm-Entwurf der R.S.V. und der S.D.A.P. Hollands" ("Draft Programme of the Revolutionary-Socialist League and the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Holland") compiled by Henriette Roland-Holst and published on February 29, 1916 in No. 3 of the *Bulletin of the International Socialist Committee* over the signatures of Henriette Roland-Holst, J. Visscher, D. Wijnkoop and J. Ceton.

The International Socialist Committee—the executive body of the Zimmerwald group elected at the first International Socialist Conference in Zimmerwald, September 5-8, 1915, and composed of Robert Grimm, Oddino Morgari, Charles Naine and A. Balabanova. Its headquarters were in Berne. Shortly after the Zimmerwald Conference, on Grimm's suggestion, a larger International Socialist Committee was formed, composed of representatives of all the parties subscribing to the Zimmerwald decisions. The R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee was represented on it by Lenin, Inessa Armand and Zinoviev. It published the *Internationale Sozialistische*

Kommission zu Bern. Bulletin (*Bulletin of the International Socialist Committee in Berne*) in German, French and English language editions. Six issues appeared between September 1915 and January 1917. p. 13

[8] *Vorbote* (The Herald)—theoretical organ of the Zimmerwald Left, published in German in Berne. Two issues appeared, in January and April 1916. The official publishers were Roland-Holst and Pannekoek.

Lenin had an active share in founding the magazine and, after the appearance of its first issue, in organising a French edition to reach a wider readership. A keen discussion was conducted on its pages by Left Zimmerwaldists on the right of nations to self-determination and the "disarmament" slogan. p. 14

[9] *Sotsial-Demokrat*—illegal Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P. published from February 1908 to January 1917. After unsuccessful attempts to issue the first number of the paper in Russia, publication was arranged abroad. Nos. 2-32 (February 1909-December 1913) were put out in Paris and Nos. 33-58 (November 1914-January 1917) in Geneva. Altogether, 58 issues appeared, five of which had supplements. From December 1911, *Sotsial-Demokrat* was edited by Lenin and carried more than 80 of his articles and shorter items.

Lenin directed all the affairs of the paper, decided on the contents of the current issue, edited the various contributions and looked after the production side.

During the First World War, *Sotsial-Demokrat* played an outstanding part in combating international opportunism, nationalism and chauvinism, in popularising the Bolshevik slogans and in awakening the working class and the working people generally for struggle against the imperialist war and its instigators, against the tsarist autocracy and capitalism. *Sotsial-Demokrat* also played a major part in uniting the internationalist forces in the Social-Democratic movement. p. 14

[10] *The Zimmerwald Left* was formed on Lenin's initiative at the International Socialist Conference in Zimmerwald in September 1915. The group consisted of eight of the Conference delegates, representing the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee, Left Social-Democrats in Sweden, Norway, Switzerland and Germany, the Polish Social-Democratic opposition and the Latvian Social-Democrats. Led by Lenin, it combated the Centrist conference majority. Its draft resolutions and draft Manifesto condemning the war, exposing the treachery of the social-chauvinists and emphasising the need for active struggle against the war were rejected by the Centrist majority. However, the Zimmerwald Left did succeed in including in the adopted Manifesto a number of important points from its draft resolution. Regarding the Manifesto as a first step in the struggle against the imperialist war, the Zimmerwald Left voted for it, but in a special statement pointed out its inadequacy and inconsistency. At the same time, the group stated that while it would remain part

of the Zimmerwald movement, it would continue to disseminate its views and conduct independent work internationally. It elected a Bureau, which included Lenin, Zinoviev and Radek, and published its own organ, *Vorbote* (see Note No. 8).

The Bolsheviks, the only ones to take a correct and consistently internationalist position, were the leading force in the Zimmerwald Left. Lenin combated Radek's opportunist vacillations and criticised the mistakes of other members of the group.

The Zimmerwald Left became the rallying point for internationalist elements in the world Social-Democratic movement (see also Note No. 36). p. 14

[11] This meeting, held in Berne, February 5-9, 1916, was attended by 22 representatives of internationalist socialists in Germany, Russia, Italy, Norway, Austria, Poland, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Rumania and several more countries. The composition of the meeting was indicative of the changed alignment of forces in favour of the Left, though most of the delegates, as at the original Zimmerwald Conference, were Centrists.

The meeting adopted an appeal to all affiliated parties and groups (Rundschreiben an alle angeschlossen Parteien und Gruppen), in which were included, as a result of pressure from the Bolsheviks and other Left forces, amendments in line with the Zimmerwald Left policy. The appeal condemned socialist participation in bourgeois governments, denounced the slogan of "fatherland defence" in an imperialist war and approval of war credits. It stressed the need to support the labour movement and prepare for mass revolutionary actions against the imperialist war. However, the appeal was inconsistent, since it did not call for a break with social-chauvinism and opportunism. Not all of Lenin's amendments were adopted. The Zimmerwald Lefts declared that though they did not consider the appeal satisfactory in all its points, they would vote for it as a step forward compared with the decisions of the first Zimmerwald Conference. p. 14

[12] *Rabochaya Mysl* (Workers' Thought)—a newspaper published by a group of Economists in Russia from October 1897 to December 1902. A critique of the paper as representative of the Russian variety of international opportunism will be found in Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* p. 16

[13] *Prosveshcheniye* (Enlightenment)—a monthly theoretical, legal Bolshevik magazine, published in St. Petersburg from December 1911 to June 1914. Its circulation reached 5,000 copies. While in Paris, and later in Cracow and Poronin, Lenin directed the magazine, edited articles published in it and regularly corresponded with the members of the editorial board. Among his own articles published in *Prosveshcheniye* are the following: "Fundamental Problems of the Election Campaign", "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism", "Critical Remarks on the National Question", "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", "Disruption

of Unity Concealed by Shouts for Unity" and "The Methods of Struggle of the Bourgeois Intellectuals Against the Workers". p. 16

[14] Lenin is here referring to the programme of the French Workers' Party adopted in 1880, and to the programmes of the German Social-Democratic Party adopted in Gotha in 1875 and in Erfurt in 1891. p. 16

[15] Reference is to the pamphlet *Socialism and War* (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 295-338). p. 19

[16] Reference is to the *Declaration of the Polish Social-Democrats at the 1915 Zimmerwald Conference*. The Declaration protested against the oppressive policy of the tsarist and German and Austrian governments which "deprive the Polish people of the opportunity to shape their own destiny, regard the Polish lands as a pawn in future bargaining over compensation...." "And this," the Declaration said, "brings out with especial crudity the very essence of the policy of the capitalist governments which, in sending the masses to the slaughter, are at the same time arbitrarily shaping the destinies of nations for generations to come." The Polish Social-Democrats, the Declaration said, are convinced that only participation in the impending struggle of the international revolutionary proletariat for socialism—"in the struggle that will tear the fetters of national oppression and destroy alien domination in whatever form or shape—will assure the Polish people, too, the opportunity for all-round development as an equal member of the alliance of the nations". p. 21

[17] This article was written in reply to one by Y. L. Pyatakov (P. Kievsky), "The Proletariat and the "Right of Nations to Self-Determination, in the Era of Finance Capital" (August 1916). The manuscript bears Lenin's marginal note: "Kievsky's article on self-determination and Lenin's reply." Both articles were meant for No. 3 of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*. Somewhat later, Lenin wrote another article in reply to Kievsky, "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism" (see pp. 28-76 of this volume). Due to financial difficulties, No. 3 was not published and the articles did not appear in print. Lenin's article, however, was widely known in manuscript to Bolsheviks living abroad and to a number of Left Social-Democrats. p. 22

[18] Lenin is alluding to the article "Miliz oder Abrüstung?" ("Militia or Disarmament?") by Henriette Roland-Holst, a Left-wing Dutch Social-Democrat, in the Swiss Social-Democratic journal *Neues Leben* (New Life) No. 10-11 (October-November) and No. 12 (December) 1915.

In referring to the Swiss young Social-Democrats, Lenin had in view chiefly the magazine *Jugend-Internationale* (The Youth International), organ of the International League of Socialist Youth Organ-

isations, published in Switzerland; it spoke for the Left forces in the Swiss Social-Democratic Party. Issue No. 3 of the magazine carried an editorial "Volksheer oder Entwaffnung?" ("A People's Army or Disarmament?").

The attitude of the Scandinavian (Swedish and Norwegian) Left Social-Democrats on this issue was set out in articles by Karl Kilbom, "Swedish Social-Democracy and the World War", and Arvid Hansen, "Certain Aspects of the Present-Day Norwegian Labour Movement", both of which appeared in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 2.

Lenin discusses the "disarmament" slogan in "The Military Programmme of the Proletarian Revolution" and "The 'Disarmament' Slogan" (see pp. 77-78, 94-104 of this volume). p. 23

[19] See Note No. 17. p. 28

[20] *Iskrists*—supporters of Lenin's newspaper *Iskra*, the most consistent revolutionary Social-Democrats.

Iskra—the first all-Russian illegal Marxist newspaper founded in December 1900, published abroad and secretly sent into Russia. It was taken over by the Mensheviks in 1903, and beginning with No. 52 ceased to be the organ of revolutionary Marxism. It came to be known as the new *Iskra* as distinct from the old, Bolshevik *Iskra*. p. 28

[21] The Bulygin Duma derived its name from Minister of the Interior A. C. Bulygin, who drafted the act for its convocation and the regulations governing the elections. The Duma was intended to be an advisory body under the tsar. The Bolsheviks called for an active boycott of the Duma and concentrated their propaganda on the following slogans: armed uprising, revolutionary army, provisional revolutionary government. They used the boycott campaign to mobilise all the revolutionary forces carry out mass political strikes and prepare an armed uprising. The nation-wide general political strike of October 1905 and the mounting wave of revolution prevented the elections and the Duma was never convened. Lenin discusses the Bulygin Duma in his articles: "The Constitutional Market-Place", "The Boycott of the Bulygin Duma and Insurrection", "Oneness of the Tsar and the People, and of the People and the Tsar", "In the Wake of the Monarchist Bourgeoisie, or in the Van of the Revolutionary Proletariat and Peasantry?" (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 352-56; Vol. 9, pp. 179-87, 191-99, 212-29). p. 28

[22] Reference is to the *otzovists* and *ultimatumists*.

Otzovists—an opportunist group composed of A. A. Bogdanov, G. A. Alexinsky, A. V. Sokolov (S. Volsky), A. V. Lunacharsky, M. N. Lyadov and others, which emerged among a section of the Bolsheviks in 1908. Under cover of revolutionary phrases they demanded the recall (the Russian word *otozvat* means recall) of the

Social-Democratic members of the Third Duma. They also refused to work in legal organisations—the trade unions, co-operatives and other mass organisations—contending that in conditions of rampant reaction the Party must confine itself exclusively to illegal activity. The otzovists did immense damage to the Party. Their policy would have isolated the Party from the masses and, in the end, would have turned it into a sectarian organisation.

Ultimatumism—a variety of otzovism, from which it differed only in form. The ultimatumists proposed that the Social-Democratic Duma members be presented with an ultimatum—either they fully submit to the decisions of the Party Central Committee or be recalled from the Duma. The ultimatumists failed to appreciate the need for painstaking work to help the Social-Democratic deputies overcome their mistakes and adopt a consistent revolutionary line. Ultimatumism was, in fact, disguised otzovism. Lenin called the ultimatumists "bashful otzovists". p. 28

[23] *Die Neue Zeit* (New Times)—theoretical organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, published in Stuttgart from 1883 to 1923; edited by Karl Kautsky up to October 1917 and after that by H. Cunow. *Die Neue Zeit* was the first to publish several works of Marx and Engels. Engels helped the magazine by his advice and not infrequently criticised it for deviating from Marxism. After Engels's death in 1895, *Die Neue Zeit* threw its pages open to articles by Eduard Bernstein and other revisionists. It published Bernstein's "Problems of Socialism", which became the starting-point of a revisionist campaign against Marxism. In the First World War *Die Neue Zeit* took a Centrist position and gave factual support to the social-chauvinists. p. 35

[24] *The Internationale Group*—a revolutionary organisation of Left German Social-Democrats, founded in the early days of the First World War by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin, Julian Marchlewski, Léon Jogiches (Tyszka) and Wilhelm Pieck. In April 1915, Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring started the *Internationale* magazine, which served to unite the core of the Left forces in Germany. A national conference of these forces was held in Berlin on January 1, 1916, and of officially inaugurated the *Internationale* group. It also adopted its platform of "Basic Principles" ("Leitsätze"), drawn up by Rosa Luxemburg in co-operation with Liebknecht, Mehring and Clara Zetkin. In 1915 the group issued a number of political leaflets and in 1916 began illegal publication of its Political Letters signed Spartacus (they appeared regularly up to October 1918), and the group came to be known by that name.

It conducted mass revolutionary propaganda, organised mass anti-war demonstrations, directed strike struggles and exposed the imperialist nature of the world war and the treachery of the opportunist Social-Democratic leaders. However, the Spartacus group made serious mistakes on questions of theory and policy: they negated the possibility of national liberation wars in the imperialist

era, were inconsistent on the question of turning the imperialist war into a civil war, underestimated the vanguard role of the proletarian party, and did not work for a decisive break with the opportunists.

In April 1917 the group joined the Centrist Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany as an organisationally autonomous unit, but broke with the Independents following the November 1918 Revolution in Germany and organised the Spartacus League. It published its programme on December 14, 1918 and at its inaugural Congress (December 30, 1918-January 1, 1919) founded the Communist Party of Germany. Lenin repeatedly criticised the errors and inconsistency of the German Left Social-Democrats, but had a high regard for their revolutionary activity. p. 37

[25] *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* was founded by Lenin and published by the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*. Two issues appeared, in October and December 1916 (see also Note 17). p. 37

[26] The quotation is from Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1962, p. 321). p. 46

[27] This is from Engels's *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1959, pp. 63-64. p. 55

[28] *Fracy* ("Revolutionary Faction")—the Right wing of the Polish Socialist Party (P.S.P.), a reformist nationalist party founded in 1892 and led by Pilsudski. While advocating independence for Poland, the P.S.P. conducted separatist nationalist propaganda among the Polish workers, endeavouring to discourage them from joint struggle with the Russian workers against the autocracy and capitalism.

In 1906 the party split into the Left P.S.P. and Right P.S.P. or Fracy. The latter continued the P.S.P. nationalist and chauvinist policy before, during and after the First World War. p. 57

[29] Reference is to Engels's letter to Kautsky of September 12, 1882. Lenin cites it in his article "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 352-53). p. 59

[30] *Junius* was the pen-name of Rosa Luxemburg. p. 62

[31] *Golos* (The Voice)—a Menshevik daily paper published in Paris from September 1914 to January 1915, with Trotsky playing a leading part in its editorship. The first five issues appeared under the title *Nash Golos* (Our Voice). Followed a Centrist policy and in the early days of the First World War published L. Martov's articles against the social-chauvinists. Subsequently Martov shifted to the right and the paper's policy changed in favour of the social-chauvinists. In January 1915 it was replaced by *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word).

The Organising Committee—the leading Menshevik centre inauguarated at the August 1912 Conference of liquidators. In the First World War the Organising Committee followed a social-chauvinist policy, justified tsarist Russia's part in the war and carried on jingoist propaganda. Published a magazine *Nasha Zarya* (Our Dawn) and, after its closure, *Nashe Dyelo* (Our Cause), later renamed *Dyelo*, and the newspaper *Rabocheye Utro* (Workers' Morning), later renamed *Utro*. The O.C. functioned up to the elections of the Menshevik Central Committee in August 1917. Besides the O.C. which operated inside Russia, there was a Secretariat Abroad composed of five secretaries—P. B. Axelrod, I. S. Astrov-Poves, Y. O. Martov, A. S. Martynov and S. Y. Semkovsky. It followed a pro-Centrist line and used internationalist phraseology to cover up its support of the Russian social-chauvinists. The Secretariat Abroad published a newspaper, *Izvestia* (News), which appeared from February 1915 to March 1917.

Semkovsky's article "Russia Disintegrating?", to which Lenin evidently refers, appeared in *Nashe Slovo* No. 45, March 21. 1915. p. 73

[32] The "Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution" (in a letter Lenin refers to it as an article "On Disarmament") was written in German and meant for publication in the Swiss, Swedish and Norwegian Left Social-Democratic press. However, it was not published at the time. Lenin somewhat re-edited it for publication in Russian. The article "The 'Disarmament' Slogan" appeared in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 2, December 1916 (see pp. 94-104 of this volume).

The original, German text appeared in *Jugend-International*, organ of the International League of Socialist Youth Organisations, Nos. 9 and 10, September and October 1917 under the heading "Das Militärprogramm der proletarischen Revolution". The article was printed with this editorial foreword: "In our day, when Lenin is one of the most spoken-of leaders of the Russian revolution, the following article by this veteran revolutionary stalwart, in which he sets out a large part of his political programme, is of especial interest. We received it shortly before his departure from Zurich in April 1917." The heading was apparently given by the editors of *Jugend-International*. p. 77

[33] See Note No. 18. p. 77

[34] Reference is to Robert Grimm's *theses on the war question*, published in the *Grütlianer* Nos. 162 and 164, July 14 and 17, 1916. With the growing danger of Switzerland being drawn into the war, a discussion on the war issue arose in the Social-Democratic Party. In April 1916, the Executive instructed Grimm, Müller, Naine, Pflüger and several other prominent party leaders to state their views in the press and their articles were published in the *Berner Tagwacht*, *Volksrecht* and *Grütlianer*. p. 77

[35] *Neues Leben* (New Life)—a monthly journal of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party published in Berne from January 1915 to December 1917. Spoke for the Zimmerwald Right and early in 1917 took up a social-chauvinist position. p. 77

[36] Reference is to the international socialist conferences at Zimmerwald and Kienthal.

The first, Zimmerwald Conference, met on September 5-8, 1915 and was attended by 38 delegates from 11 European countries—Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Sweden, Norway, Holland and Switzerland. Lenin led the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee delegation.

The Conference discussed: (1) reports from the various countries; (2) a joint declaration by the German and French representatives; (3) the Zimmerwald Left proposal for a policy resolution; (4) the Zimmerwald Manifesto; (5) elections to the International Socialist Committee; (6) a message of sympathy with war victims.

It adopted the Manifesto "To the European Proletariat" in which, at the insistence of Lenin and the Left Social-Democrats, several basic propositions of revolutionary Marxism were included. The Conference also adopted a joint declaration by the German and French delegations, a message of sympathy with war victims and fighters persecuted for their political activities, and elected the International Socialist Committee (I.S.C.).

The Zimmerwald Left group was formed at this Conference.

Lenin's appraisal of the Conference and the Bolshevik tactics will be found in his articles "The First Step" and "Revolutionary Marxists at the International Socialist Conference, September 5-8, 1915".

The second International Conference was held between April 24 and 30, 1916 in *Kienthal*, a village near Berne, and was attended by 43 delegates from 10 countries—Russia, Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, Poland, Norway, Austria, Serbia, Portugal. In addition there was a fraternal delegate from Britain and a representative of the Youth International Secretariat. Representatives of the British Independent Labour Party, the U.S. socialists, and delegates from Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece and Sweden were denied passports and could not therefore attend. Some Left groups were represented by delegates of other parties: the Latvian Social-Democrats transferred their mandate to the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee: Henriette Roland-Holst, delegated by the Dutch Lefts, gave her mandate to the Polish and Lithuanian Social-Democratic representative. The R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee was represented by Lenin and two other delegates.

The Conference discussed: (1) the struggle to end the war, (2) attitude of the proletariat on the peace issue, (3) agitation and propaganda, (4) parliamentary activity, (5) mass struggle, (6) convocation of the International Socialist Bureau.

Led by Lenin, the Zimmerwald Left was much stronger, both in influence and representation, than at the earlier, Zimmerwald Conference. At Kienthal it united 12 delegates and some of its

proposals obtained as much as 20 votes, or nearly half of the total. This was indicative of how the relation of forces in the world labour movement had changed in favour of internationalism.

The Conference adopted a Manifesto to the "Peoples Suffering Ruination and Death" and a resolution criticising pacifism and the International Socialist Bureau. Lenin regarded the Conference decisions as a further step in uniting the internationalist forces against the imperialist war.

The Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences helped to unite the Left elements in the West-European Social-Democratic movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. p. 83

[37] *The Social-Democratic Labour Group* (Arbeitsgemeinschaft)—an organisation of German Centrists founded in March 1916 by Reichstag members who had broken with the Social-Democratic Reichstag group. Its leaders were Hugo Haase, Georg Ledebour and Wilhelm Dittmann. It published *Lose Blätter* (Leaflets) and up to April 1916 dominated the editorial board of *Vorwärts*. Expelled from the editorial board, the group started its own publication, *Mitteilungsblätter* (Information Leaflets), in Berlin. It had the support of the majority of the Berlin organisation and became the backbone of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, founded in April 1917. The new party sought to justify avowed social-chauvinists and advocated preservation of unity with them. p. 83

[38] *The war industries committees* were established in Russia in May 1915 by the imperialist bourgeoisie to help the tsarist government in the prosecution of the war. The Central War Industry Committee was headed by one of Russia's biggest capitalists, Guchkov, leader of the Octobrists, and included manufacturer Konovalov, banker and sugar king Tereshchenko and other big capitalists. In an attempt to bring the workers under their influence, foster chauvinist sentiments, and create the impression that a "civil peace" had been achieved, the bourgeoisie decided to organise "workers' groups" in these committees. The Bolshevik boycott of the committees was supported by the workers. At a worker delegates' meeting in Petrograd on September 27 (October 10), 1915, the Bolshevik resolution calling for a boycott and for a revolutionary withdrawal from the war obtained 95 votes to the Mensheviks' 81. Only at the second meeting, held without the pro-Bolshevik delegates, were the Mensheviks able to elect a "workers' group" of ten, led by K. A. Gvozdyov.

As a result of Bolshevik propaganda, elections to the "workers' groups" were held in only 70 areas out of a total of 239, and workers' representatives were actually elected only in 36 areas. p. 84

[39] *The Basle Manifesto* on the war issue was adopted at the emergency International Socialist Congress held in Basle, Switzerland, on November 24-25, 1912, to discuss the struggle against the imminent danger of a world imperialist war, heightened by the first Balkan War. The Congress was attended by 555 delegates. The R.S.D.L.P.

Central (Committee had six delegates. A huge anti-war demonstration and international anti-war rally were held on the opening day.

The Manifesto was unanimously endorsed on November 25. It warned the peoples against the mounting danger of world war. It said that "the great nations of Europe are always on the point of being driven at each other, without the slightest reason of real national interests for such attempts on reason and humanity.... It would be madness if the governments did not comprehend that the mere notion of a world war will call forth indignation and passion among the workers. The latter consider it a crime to shoot each other in the interest and for the profit of capitalism, for the sake of dynastic honour and of diplomatic secret treaties."

The Manifesto disclosed the predatory aims of the war the imperialists were preparing and urged workers everywhere resolutely to combat the war danger, "to pit against the might of capitalist imperialism the international solidarity of the working class" and in the event of imperialist war breaking out, to take advantage of the economic and political crisis to hasten the socialist revolution.

Kautsky, Vandervelde and the other Second International leaders voted for the Manifesto, but as soon as the world war broke out, they went back on it, as on other anti-war decisions of international socialist congresses, and sided with their imperialist governments. p. 84

[40] *La Sentinelle*—organ of the Social-Democratic organisation of Neuchâtel Canton, French Switzerland, published at La Chaux-de-Fonds from 1890 to 1906 and resumed in 1910. Followed an internationalist policy in the First World War and in its November 13, 1914 issue (No. 265) carried an abridged version of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee Manifesto. "The War and Russian Social-Democracy".

Volksrecht (People's Right)—daily Social-Democratic newspaper founded in Zurich in 1898 and edited during the First World War by Ernst Nobs. Published articles of Left Zimmerwaldists, and Lenin's "Twelve Brief Theses on H. Greulich's Defence of Fatherland Defence", "Tasks of the R.S.D.L.P. in the Russian Revolution", "Tricks of the Republican Chauvinists" and others. At present *Volksrecht*'s policy on principal home and international issues is practically identical with that of the bourgeois press.

Berner Tagwacht—Social-Democratic newspaper founded in 1893 in Berne. Published articles by Liebknecht, Mehring and other Left socialists in the early days of the First World War. In 1917 came out in open support of the social-chauvinists. p. 87

[41] The *Aarau Congress* of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party met on November 20-21, 1915: The central issue was the party's attitude towards the Zimmerwald internationalist group, and the struggle developed between three following trends (1) anti-Zimmerwaldists (H. Greulich, P Pflüger and others), (2) supporters of the Zimmerwald Right (R. Grimm, P. Graber and others), and (3) supporters of the Zimmerwald Left (F. Platten, E. Nobs and others). Grimm

tabled a resolution urging the party to affiliate with Zimmerwald and endorse the political programme of the Zimmerwald Right. The Left forces, in an amendment moved by the Lausanne branch, called for mass revolutionary struggle against the war, declaring that only a victorious proletarian revolution could put an end to imperialist war. Under Grimm's pressure, the amendment was withdrawn, but it was again proposed by M. M . Kharitonov, a Bolshevik delegated by one of the party's branches. Out of tactical considerations Grimm and his supporters were obliged to approve the amendment and it was carried by 258 votes to 141. p. 87

[42] *Bund* (*General Jewish Workers' Union of Lithuania, Poland and Russia*) was composed mainly of semi-proletarian elements, Jewish artisans in Russia's Western areas. Was a vehicle of nationalism and separatism in the labour movement.

Bulletin of the Bund Committee Abroad, successor to the *Information Letter of the Bund Organisation Abroad*, published in Geneva. Two issues appeared, in September and December 1916. Followed a social-chauvinist policy. The "Letter from Russia" here quoted by Lenin appeared in No. 1 of the *Bulletin* and is analysed in more detail in Lenin's article "The Chkheidze Faction and Its Role" (see pp. 171-74 of this volume). p. 88

[43] *Potresov, A. N.* (1869-1934)—prominent Menshevik leader and theoretician of liquidationism. Played a leading part in the magazines *Vozrozhdeniye* (Regeneration), *Nasha Zarya* (Our Dawn) and other publications of the Menshevik liquidators. Took a social-chauvinist stand in the First World War. p. 88

[44] The *Italian Socialist Party* was founded in 1892 and from the very start became the scene of a sharp struggle on all basic political and tactical issues between the opportunist and revolutionary forces. At its Congress in Reggio-Emilia (1912), the more outspoken reformists, who supported the war and co-operation with the government and the bourgeoisie, were expelled under pressure from the Left. Prior to Italy's entry into the First World War, the party opposed war and advocated neutrality. In December 1914 it expelled a group of renegades (among them Mussolini) for supporting the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie and urging Italy's entry into the war. When Italy did enter, in May 1915, the party split into three distinct factions: (1) the Right wing, which helped the bourgeoisie prosecute the war, (2) the Centrists, who made up the majority of the party and pursued a policy of "no participation in the war and no sabotage of the war" and (3) the Left wing which took a more resolute stand, but failed to organise a consistent struggle against the war. The Lefts did not realise the need to turn the imperialist war into a civil war, or to break with the reformists, who were cooperating with the bourgeoisie.

The Italian socialists held a joint conference with the Swiss socialists in Lugano (1914), took an active part in the international socialist conferences at Zimmerwald (1915) and Kienthal (1916).

The party leaders, Lazzari and Serrati, exposed the imperialist and predatory plans of the bourgeoisie and actively facilitated the restoration of international Social-Democratic contacts.

Lenin's message of greetings was addressed to the party Congress held in Zurich on October 15-16, 1916, and was read at its opening session on October 15. A brief report of the Congress appeared in *Avanti!* No. 290, October 18, 1916.

Towards the end of 1916, the reformists gained the upper hand and the party shifted to social-pacifism. p. 90

[45] *International Socialists of Germany* (*Internationale Sozialisten Deutschlands*, *I.S.D.*)—a group of Left-wing German Social-Democrats who during the First World War united around the magazine *Lichtstrahlen* (Rays), published in Berlin from 1913 to 1921. The I.S.D. openly opposed war and opportunism, were the most consistent advocates of a break with the social-chauvinists and Centrists. Their leader, Julian Borhardt, signed the draft resolutions and manifesto of the Zimmerwald Left, to which the group affiliated shortly after the Zimmerwald Conference, an announcement to that effect appeared in its *Internationale Flügblätter* (International Leaflets) No. 1, 1915. The I.S.D. had no substantial mass support and soon fell apart. p. 91

[46] From the very outbreak of the war, the Bolshevik Duma members A. Y. Badayev, M. K. Muranov, G. I. Petrovsky, F. N. Samoilov and N. R. Shagov, came out in energetic support of working-class interests. In compliance with Party policy, they refused to vote for war credits, exposed the imperialist and anti-popular nature of the war, brought the true facts to the knowledge of the workers and roused them to struggle against tsarism, the bourgeoisie and the landlords. They were tried for their revolutionary activities and exiled to Siberia. Lenin discusses the trial in his article "What Has Been Revealed by the Trial of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Duma Group" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 171-77). p. 93

[47] The *Conference of Entente Socialists* was sponsored by the French social-chauvinists Albert Thomas, Pierre Renaudel and Marcel Sembat. On Lenin's advice, the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee issued a statement exposing the treasonous aims of the conference and urging all internationalists to steer clear of it. The R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee asked the Executive Socialist Committee in Berne to call together conference delegates from Zimmerwald organisations in order to work out a joint policy. The R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee statement was published in December 1916, in No. 2 of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*. The conference was postponed and was finally held in London on August 28, 1917. p. 93

[48] Reference is to the *Conference of Entente Socialists* held in London on February 14, 1915 and attended by representatives of social-chauvinist and pacifist groups in England, France, Belgium and Russia.

The Bolsheviks were not invited, but on Lenin's instructions Litvinov attended the Conference and read a statement of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee, based on a draft drawn up by Lenin. It demanded that socialists resign from bourgeois governments, renounce alliance and co-operation with the imperialists, wage an energetic struggle against imperialist governments and refuse to vote war credits. The statement was published in *Sotsial-Demokrat*, the R.S.D.L.P. Central Organ, March 29, 1915, No. 40. Lenin discusses the Conference in his articles "The London Conference" and "On the London Conference" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 132-34, 178-80). p. 93

[49] This refers to Karl Kilbom's article "Swedish Social-Democracy and the World War" and Arvid Hansen's "Certain Features of the Contemporary Labour Movement in Norway", both of which appeared in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 2, December 1916. p. 94

[50] *The Socialist Review*—a monthly magazine published in London by the reformist Independent Labour Party of England from 1908 to 1934. During the First World War its contributors included Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, Algernon Lee and others. p. 104

[51] K. Marx, Preface to the second edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 244). p. 107

[52] *Kommunist*—a magazine founded by Lenin and published in Geneva in 1915 jointly by *Sotsial-Demokrat* and Y. L. Pyatakov and Y. B. Bosh, who financed it. N. I. Bukharin was one of the editors. Only one double issue appeared, in September 1915. It contained three of Lenin's articles: "The Collapse of the Second International," "The Honest Voice of a French Socialist", and "Imperialism and Socialism in Italy". (See also Note No. 1.) p. 107

[53] *Bulletin of the R.S.D.L.P. Organising Committee, Secretariat Abroad*—a Menshevik Centrist organ, published in Geneva from February 1915 to March 1917. Altogether ten issues appeared. p. 110

[54] See Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1955, p. 132. p. 112

[55] See Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1955, pp. 422-23. p. 112

[56] See Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1955, p. 491. p. 113

[57] See Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1962, pp. 406-19. p. 113

[58] *Chkheidze faction*—the Menshevik group in the Fourth Duma led by N. S. Chkheidze. Officially followed a Centrist policy in the First World War, but factually supported the Russian social-chauvinists. In 1916 the group was composed of M. I. Skobelev, I. N. Tulyakov, V. I. Khaustov, N. S. Chkheidze and A. I. Chkhenkeli. Lenin criticises their opportunist policy in several articles, including "The Chkheidze Faction and Its Role", "Have the Organising Committee and the Chkheidze Group a Policy of Their Own?" p. 118

[59] *Nashe Dyelo* (Our Cause)—a Menshevik monthly, chief mouthpiece of the liquidators and Russian social-chauvinists. Published in Petrograd in 1915 in place of *Nasha Zarya* (Our Dawn) which was closed in October 1914. Contributors included Y. Mayevsky, P. P. Maslov, A. N. Potresov, and N. Cherevanin. Six issues appeared altogether.

Golos Truda (Voice of Labour)—a legal Menshevik paper published in Samara in 1916 after the closure of *Nash Golos* (Our Voice). Three issues appeared. p. 118

[60] The *Swiss Social-Democratic Party Congress* in Zurich, November 4-5, 1916, discussed the work of the Social-Democratic group in the National Council, the financial reform, attitude on the Kienthal resolutions and the Grütli-Verein, revision of the party constitution.

Lenin attended all the sessions, and addressed the opening session on behalf of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee. His speech, delivered in German, was followed with close attention. There was a sharp struggle between the diverse trends in the party on practically every agenda item.

A positive feature of the Congress, in Lenin's view, was the vigorous fight the Left waged against the Right and Centre. The resolution on the Social-Democratic group in the National Council urged it to set an example of struggle for working-class interests and insisted that it be guided in all its activities by party decisions. The resolution on the financial reform, tabled by Grimm and Huber, approved direct taxation and allowed for indirect taxes on tobacco, alcoholic beverages, stamp duty, etc. Two resolutions were submitted on the attitude towards Kienthal, one by the party Executive and the other by the Left wing; the question was referred to an emergency congress. On the Grütli-Verein—an affiliated organisation enjoying special status, which took an extreme chauvinist stand in the war—the Congress declared membership in it to be incompatible with membership in the party. Revision of the party constitution was referred to an emergency congress.

The Zurich Congress, Lenin wrote, "definitely proved that the decision to join Zimmerwald and accept *revolutionary mass struggle* (resolution of the 1915 Aarau Congress) remains on paper, and that within the party there has been definitely formed a 'Centre'....

This 'Centre', of which R. Grimm has become the head, combines 'Left' declarations with 'Right', i.e., opportunist, tactics" (see p. 137 of this volume). p. 121

[61] *The Committee for the Re-establishment of International Contacts* was formed in Paris in January 1916 by French internationalists. This was the first attempt to set up in France a revolutionary socialist organisation as a counterweight to the official social-chauvinist organisations. The Committee conducted propaganda against the imperialist war, published a number of pamphlets and leaflets, exposing the predatory aims of the imperialists and the social-chauvinists' betrayal of the working class. It did not, however, appreciate the need for a decisive break with the opportunists, and had no clear-cut and consistent programme of revolutionary struggle. Nevertheless Lenin regarded the Committee as a factor in rallying the internationalist forces in France and in extending the Left Zimmerwaldist influence. Inessa Armand participated in the Committee on Lenin's instructions.

Under the influence of the October Revolution in Russia and the growth of the French labour movement, the Committee became the centre of the revolutionary internationalist forces in France, and in 1920 merged with the Communist Party. p. 122

[62] The allusion is to the assassination of Austrian Prime Minister Stürgkh by Friedrich Adler, the Austrian Social-Democratic leader. p. 123

[63] Lenin is here referring to the *Berner Tagwacht*, which published the following articles on the Russo-German negotiations for a separate peace: "Die Vorbereitung des Separatfriedens" ("Preparation of a Separate Peace") in its issue of October 11, 1916, No. 230; an editorial, "Die Friedensgerüchte" ("Peace Rumors"), in No. 241 of October 13, and a shorter item, "Zum Separatfrieden" ("On a Separate Peace"), in No. 242 of October 14. p. 125

[64] Reference is to the *International Socialist Bureau* (I.S.B.)—the permanent executive and information body of the Second International, founded by decision of the Paris International Congress (1900) and headquartered in Brussels. Each national affiliate had two members on the Bureau, which was to meet four times a year, with the Executive of the Belgian Labour Party acting for it in the intervals. Emile Vandervelde was Chairman of the Bureau and Camille Huysmans Secretary. Lenin was elected R.S.D.L.P. representative in 1905 and re-elected in 1912 at the Sixth All-Russia Party Conference in Prague. M. M. Litvinov was appointed R.S.D.L.P. representative in June 1914 at Lenin's suggestion.

With the outbreak of the First World War the I.S.B. become a pliant tool of the social-chauvinists. Its headquarters were moved to The Hague and its activities were directed by Huysmans. p. 134

[65] *Volksstimme* (People's Voice)—organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, published in Chemnitz from January 1891 to February 1933. Followed a social-chauvinist line in the First World War. p. 134

[66] During the First World War Lenin lived in Switzerland from where he directed the activities of the Bolshevik Party . He was also a member of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party and shared in the activities of its Left wing, attending its meetings and helping it with his advice. Dr. F. Brupbacher, a Zurich Social-Democrat who frequently met Lenin in that period, wrote:

"Lenin was in close touch with the Zurich labour organisations, attending their meetings every time an important issue was discussed . For instance, he was present when a report on Youth Day was made to a meeting of woodworkers, at meetings of the Zurich Labour Union when the war question was debated, a youth meeting in Hottingen at which Platten spoke on refusal to do military service and on revolutionary propaganda in the army, a meeting of the Unterstrasse branch which I addressed on the war issue.... Lenin displayed the patience of Job in his relations with the Swiss comrades (Maurice Pianzola, "Lenin in Switzerland").

The theses "The Tasks of the Left Zimmerwaldists in the Swiss Social-Democratic Party" were written in Russian and German and translated into French. They were circulated to Bolshevik groups in Switzerland, to Swiss Left Social-Democrats and were discussed at their meetings. p. 137

[67] See Note No. 37. p. 137

[68] The slogan was advanced by Karl Liebknecht in his letter of October 2, 1914 to the German Social-Democratic Party Executive. Lenin quotes this letter in his rough draft of "Theses for an Appeal to the International Socialist Committee and All Socialist Parties" (see pp. 205-16 of this volume).

This is the background to Liebknecht's letter: In August 1914, Liebknecht asked the party Executive to arrange a number of anti-war rallies and issue a manifesto in the name of the Reichstag group urging all party members to oppose the war. The proposal was rejected. In September 1914, Liebknecht toured Belgium and Holland, informing internationalist socialists of the situation in the German party, for which he was disciplined by the Executive. The letter was a reply to this disciplinary action. p. 137

[69] *Egli, Karl Heinrich*—Swiss colonel. Spied for Germany and her allies during the First World War, when he was deputy chief of the Swiss General Staff. Tried early in 1916 at the insistence of the Social-Democratic press and parliamentary group, he was acquitted, due to pressure from the bourgeoisie and the military clique, but was obliged to leave the army.

De Lohs (*Loys, Treytorrens*)—Swiss colonel. In August 1916 published several articles urging Swiss participation in the war.

Was exposed by the Social-Democratic press, which demanded his dismissal from the service, but the military command confined itself to a reprimand. p. 138

[70] The *Olten resolution* on the war question was adopted by the emergency congress of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party at Olten, February 10-11, 1906. p. 144

[71] *Grütli-Verein*—a bourgeois reformist organisation founded in Switzerland in 1838, long before the organisation of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party. The name derives from the sixteenth-century Union of Grütlians (conspirators), who rose against Austrian rule. In 1901 the Grütli-Verein affiliated with the Social-Democratic Party but remained organisationally independent. Its newspaper, *Grütlianer*, followed a bourgeois-nationalist policy. In the First World War the Grütli-Verein took up an extreme chauvinist position and became the mainstay of the Right-wing social-chauvinists. This led the Zurich Congress of the Social-Democratic Party (November 1916) to declare that membership in the Grütli-Verein was incompatible with membership in the party. p. 146

[72] These theses and several other items in this volume ("Principles Involved in the War Issue"; "An Open Letter to Charles Naine"; "Twelve Brief Theses on H. Greulich's Defence of Fatherland Defence"; "Imaginary or Real Marsh?"; "Proposed Amendments to the Resolution on the War Issue"; "The Story of One Short Period in the Life of One Socialist Party") were written in connection with the discussion of the war issue in the Swiss Social-Democratic Party.

In August 1916 the party Executive decided to call an emergency congress for February 11-12, 1917 to discuss the war issue. The Zurich Congress (November 4-5, 1916) endorsed that decision and appointed a commission to draw up draft resolutions for the emergency congress.

The commission framed two drafts: the majority draft, based on Grimm's Centrist theses, published in July 1916, and the minority social-chauvinist draft which called on Social-Democrats to "defend the fatherland" in the event of Switzerland entering the war.

Lenin, who was closely associated with the Swiss Left, was well informed of the commission's activities. His "Theses on the Attitude of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party Towards the War" were written to help the Swiss Left. Lenin drew up several variants and drafts, devoting special attention to practical proposals, before working out the final text. p. 149

[73] See Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, pp. 549-50. p. 154

[74] *Schweizerische Metallarbeiter-Zeitung* (Swiss Metalworkers' Gazette)—a weekly paper founded in Berne in 1902; adopted a social-chauvinist position during the First World War. p. 155

[75] *Socialist-Revolutionaries*—members of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, a petty-bourgeois party in Russia, which arose at the end of 1901 and beginning of 1902 as a result of the merger of various Narodnik groups and circles. The Socialist-Revolutionaries were oblivious to the class differences between the proletariat and petty proprietors, glossed over the class differentiation and contradictions within the peasantry and negated the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution. The views of the Socialist-Revolutionaries were an eclectic mixture of the ideas of Narodism and revisionism. The Bolshevik Party exposed their attempts to masquerade as socialists, carried out a determined struggle against them for influence over the peasantry and showed the danger to the working-class movement of their tactics of individual terrorism.

The fact that the peasantry, to which the Socialist-Revolutionaries appealed, was not a homogeneous class determined their political and ideological instability and organisational disunity and their constant waverings between the liberal bourgeoisie and the proletariat. As early as the first Russian revolution (1905-07) the Right wing of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party broke away and formed the legal Trudovik Popular Socialist Party whose outlook was close to that of the Cadets, and the Left wing formed the semi-anarchist League of Maximalists. The majority of Socialist-Revolutionaries adopted a social-chauvinist position during the First World War.

O.C.-ists—See Note No 31. p. 164

[76] *Nota-Bene*—pen-name used by Bukharin. p. 165

[77] Towards the end of 1916 and early in 1917 Lenin devoted much of his time to intensive research on the problem of the state, studying the works of Marx and Engels and other sources. His copious notes, comments and conclusions were recorded in a notebook, the famous Blue Notebook, under the general heading "Marxism and the State". In a letter to Alexandra Kollontai dated February 4 (17), 1917 he wrote: "I'm working on an article (have already prepared nearly all the material) on the Marxist position on the state." The article was meant for No. 4 of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*, and Lenin had apparently drawn up the plan for it. However, the article was not written at the time. The materials collected for it were made the basis of Lenin's celebrated *The State and Revolution*, written in the summer of 1917. p. 166

[78] See Note No 31. p. 167

[79] *Liquidators*—exponents of an opportunist trend that spread among the Menshevik Social-Democrats after the defeat of the 190-07 Revolution.

The liquidators demanded the dissolution of the illegal revolutionary working-class party. They urged the workers to abandon the revolutionary struggle against tsarism and intended to establish a broad opportunist party, which would renounce revolutionary slo-

gans and engage only in the legal activity permitted by the tsarist government. Lenin and other Bolsheviks ceaselessly exposed this betrayal of the revolution by the liquidators. The policy of the liquidators was not supported by the workers. The Prague Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. (January 1912) expelled them from the Party. p. 167

[80] Reference is to the draft platform which the Menshevik Organising Committee Secretariat Abroad issued in Zurich in 1915 and circulated to organisations affiliated to the August bloc. It was in the form of a letter headed "The Proletariat and the War" and signed by L. Martov and four other Organising Committee secretaries. p. 170

[81] The "*initiating groups*" were formed by the Menshevik liquidators from the end of 1910 onwards as a counterweight to the illegal Party organisations. They were meant to be the nuclei of a new, broad legal party, functioning within the framework of the June 3, Stolypin regime. The liquidators succeeded in forming "initiating groups" in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Ekaterinoslav and Konstantinovka (Donets coalfield) in the shape of small groups of intellectuals dissociated from the working class. In the First World War they followed a social-chauvinist policy. p. 172

[82] *Orthodox*—the pen-name of Lyubov Axelrod, a Menshevik. p. 172

[83] *Dyelo* (The Cause)—a fortnightly Menshevik magazine published in Moscow from August 1916 to January 1917 under the editorship of A. N. Potresov, P. P. Maslov and Lyubov Axelrod (Orthodox). Ten issues, including three double issues, appeared in 1916 and one issue in 1917. The magazine followed a chauvinist policy. p. 173

[84] *Diskussionny Listok* (Discussion Bulletin)—a supplement to the R.S.D.L.P. Central Organ, *Sotsial-Demokrat*, published in Paris from March 6 (19), 1910 to April 29 (May 12), 1911. Three issues appeared. The editorial board was composed of representatives of the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, ultimatumists, Bundists, Plekhanovites and of the Polish and Latvian Social-Democratic organisations. p. 173

[85] *Golos* (Voice)—a Menshevik social-chauvinist newspaper published in Samara in 1916, continuer of the Menshevik papers *Nash Golos* (Our Voice) and *Golos Truda* (Voice of Labour). Altogether four issues appeared. p. 174

[86] Reference is to the Menshevik pamphlet *Kriegs und Friedensprobleme der Arbeiterklasse* (War and Peace Issues Facing the Working Class), a reprint of the draft resolutions and Manifesto of the second Zimmerwald Conference on the tasks of the proletariat in the struggle for peace, submitted to the Conference by P. Axelrod, S. Lapinsky and L. Martov. p. 174

[87] Lenin intended this article for the newspaper *Novy Mir* (New World) published in New York by Russian socialist émigrés. The article did not appear in *Novy Mir* and Lenin re-edited the first two sections, which were published in the last issue (No. 58) of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, January 31, 1917, under the heading "A Turn in World Politics" (see pp. 262-70 of this volume). p. 175

[88] *The Manifesto of February 19, 1861* abolished serfdom in Russia. p. 186

[89] The French *Confédération générale du Travail* (General Confederation of Labour) was founded in 1895 and was strongly influenced by anarcho-syndicalists and reformists. Its leaders recognised only economic struggle, opposed proletarian party leadership of the trade union movement, sided with the imperialist bourgeoisie in the First World War and advocated class collaboration and "defence of the fatherland".

The congress mentioned by Lenin met in Paris on December 24-26, 1916 and discussed: (1) report of the Executive for the period from August 1914, and (2) industrial issues. At the concluding session the Executive informed the congress of President Wilson's peace appeal to the belligerent nations, and the congress adopted, by a nearly unanimous vote, the resolution cited by Lenin. p. 186

[90] The *French Socialist Party* was founded in 1905 by the merger of the Socialist Party of France led by Guesde and the French Socialist Party led by Jaurès. Dominated by reformists, the party adopted a chauvinist position from the very start of the imperialist war. Its leaders openly supported the war and justified participation in the bourgeois government. The Centrist wing, led by Longuet, took a social-pacifist line and a conciliatory attitude towards the social-chauvinists. The Left, revolutionary wing adhered to internationalist positions and drew its support mainly from the party rank and file.

The party congress mentioned by Lenin met on December 25-30, 1916, the chief agenda item being the question of peace. A number of resolutions were adopted, including one opposing propaganda of the Zimmerwald principles, and another moved by Renaudel, approving socialist participation in the war-time government. p. 186

[91] *La Bataille* (The Battle)—organ of the French anarcho-syndicalists, published in Paris from 1915 to 1920 in place of the banned *La Bataille Syndicaliste*. Leading contributors included Grave, Jouhaux, and Cornelissen. Adopted a social-chauvinist position in the First World War. p. 189

[92] This article was written in reply to an open letter by Boris Souvarine, the French Centrist, "A nos amis qui sont en Suisse" ("To Our Friends in Switzerland"), published in *Le Populaire du Centre*, December 10, 1916.

Lenin sent the article to Souvarine who in January 1918 turned it over to the socialist *La Vérité* for publication, together with his preface. The article was to have appeared on January 24, in No 45 of the paper, but was banned by the censor. *La Vérité* came out with a blank space, over which was the heading "Un document inédit. Une lettre de Lénine" ("Unpublished document. A Letter from Lenin") with the signature "Lénine". Three days later, on January 27, *La Vérité* published the article, with many cuts and with its own subheadings, in No. 48. The full text was published in the magazine *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* (Proletarian Revolution) No. 7, 1929 from the *La Vérité* galleys. p. 195

[93] *l'Humanité*—daily French socialist newspaper founded in 1904 by Jean Jaurès. During the First World War was controlled by the socialist Right wing and followed a chauvinist policy.

In 1918 Marcel Cachin, an outstanding leader of the French and international workers' movement, became its political editor. In 1918-20 *l'Humanité* campaigned against the French Government's imperialist policy of armed intervention in Soviet Russia. In December 1920, following the split in the Socialist Party and the founding of the Communist Party, *l'Humanité* became the Communist Central Organ. p. 197

[94] *Appeal to Reason*—a newspaper published by the American socialists, founded in Girard, Kansas, in 1895. Had no official connections with the U.S. Socialist Party but propagated socialist ideas and enjoyed wide popularity among the workers. Took up an internationalist position in the First World War.

Lenin's reference is to Eugene Debs' article "When I Shall Fight", in the issue of September 11, 1915 (No. 1032). p. 200

[95] In January 1912 the Mensheviks were expelled from the Party by decision of the Sixth (Prague) Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.

The Sixth All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. met from January 5 to January 17 (18-30), 1912 in Prague and actually assumed the character of a Party congress.

Lenin was the leading figure at the Conference. He delivered the reports on the current situation and the tasks of the Party, the work of the International Socialist Bureau, and took part in the discussions. He also drafted the resolutions on all major agenda items.

The Conference resolutions on "Liquidationism and the Group of Liquidators and on "The Party Organisation Abroad" were of tremendous theoretical and practical significance. The Conference declared that by their conduct the liquidators had definitely placed themselves outside the Party and expelled them from the R.S.D.L.P. The Conference condemned the activities of the anti-Party groups abroad—the Menshevik *Golos* group, the *Vperyod* and Trotsky groups, and recognised the absolute necessity for a single Party organisation abroad, conducting its work under the supervision and guidance of the C.C., and pointed out that Party groups abroad "which refuse to submit to the Russian centre of Social-Democratic

activity, i.e., to the Central Committee, and which cause disorganisation by communicating with Russia independently and ignoring the Central Committee, have no right to use the name of the R.S.D.L.P.". The Conference adopted a resolution on "The Character and Organisational Forms of Party Work", approved Lenin's draft Organisational Rules, made the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* the Party Central Organ, elected a Party Central Committee and set up the Bureau of the C.C. in Russia.

The Prague Conference played an outstanding part in building the Bolshevik Party, a party of a new type, and in strengthening its unity. It summed up a whole historical period of struggle against the Mensheviks, consolidated the victory of the Bolsheviks and expelled the Menshevik liquidators from the Party. Local Party organisations rallied still closer round the Party on the basis of the Conference decisions. The Conference strengthened the Party as an all-Russian organisation and defined its political line and tactics in the conditions of the new revolutionary upsurge. The Prague Conference was of great international significance. It showed the revolutionary elements of the parties of the Second International how to conduct a decisive struggle against opportunism by carrying the fight to a complete organisational break with the opportunists. p. 203

[96] *De Tribune*—organ of the Left wing of the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Holland. Founded in 1907 by A. Pannekoek H. Gorter, D. Wijnkoop and Henriette Roland-Holst. In 1909, following the expulsion of the Left wing, became the official organ of the new, Social-Democratic Party, and in 1918 of the Dutch Communist Party. It appeared under this name until 1940. p. 204

[97] This "rough draft" was written early in January 1917. The manuscript bears this note by Lenin: (for the I.S.C. and publication in the press)".

On January 7, 1917, Robert Grimm, the Kautskyite Chairman of the International Socialist Committee, induced the Swiss Social-Democratic Party Executive to postpone indefinitely the emergency party congress on the war issue, despite objections from the Left. On the same day the Centrist opposition in the German Social-Democratic Party held a conference in Berlin and adopted a pacifist manifesto framed by Kautsky, "Ein Friedensmanifest der deutschen Parteiopposition" ("Peace Manifesto of the German Party Opposition"), later published in a number of German newspapers and in the Swiss Socialist *Volksrecht* of January 11. Since this signified an open alliance of the Right Zimmerwaldists with the social-chauvinists, Lenin altered his draft but decided to postpone its publication. The manuscript bears his note: "Written before January 7, 1917 and therefore partly obsolete." Later, using the draft as a basis, Lenin wrote his appeal "To the Workers Who Support the Struggle Against the War and Against the Socialists Who Have Sided with Their Governments" (see pp. 229-35 of this volume). p. 205

[98] This letter was written in Zurich and sent to V. A. Karpinsky in Geneva. It was meant for discussion in R.S.D.L.P. groups abroad. p. 217

[99] *Brilliant*—G. Y. Sokolnikov (1888-1939), joined the Party in 1905. During the war contributed to Trotsky's paper *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word). p. 217

[100] *Grütlianer*—organ of the Swiss bourgeois-reformist Grütli-Verein; founded in Zurich in 1851. Became a social-chauvinist mouthpiece during the war. Lenin described it as the organ of "the consistent and avowed servants of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement". p. 218

[101] The allusion is to the conference of 115 representatives of Swiss labour organisations held in Zurich on August 6, 1916 to discuss the situation created by rising living costs. The main report was made by Grimm. The resolution and a brief account of the conference were published in *Volksrecht*, August 8, 1916 (No. 183), under the heading "Die schweizerische Arbeiterschaft und die Teuerung" ("The Swiss Workers and Rising Living Costs"). The conference appeal to the National Council was published in *Volksrecht* of August 10 (No. 185) under the heading "Massnahmen gegen die Teuerung" ("Measures Against Rising Living Costs"). p. 225

[102] The allusion, apparently, is to the editorial "Parteibeschlüsse" ("Party Decisions") in the *Berner Tagwacht* of January 8, 1917 (No. 6). p. 233

[103] The *Lecture on the 1905 Revolution* was delivered in German on January 9 (22), 1917 a the meeting of young workers in the Zurich People's House. Lenin began working on the lecture in the closing days of 1916. He referred to the lecture in a letter to Y. A. Karpinsky dated December 7 (20), asking for literature on the subject. p. 236

[104] "Twelve Brief Theses on H. Greulich's Defence of Fatherland Defence" was written in reply to a series of articles by Greulich, a Swiss social-chauvinist, "Zur Landesverteidigung" ("Defence of the Fatherland Issue"), which appeared in *Volksrecht*, January 23-26, 1917 (Nos. 19-22).

Lenin's theses, signed "—e—", appeared in the same paper on January 31-February 1 (Nos. 26-27). *Volksrecht* editor Ernst Nobs deleted several paragraphs and inserted the word Genosse (Comrade) before the name Greulich. Nobs deleted the following passages: (1) in Section 9, from the third paragraph beginning with the words "But, frankly, what kind of unity...", and up to the end of the Section; (2) in Section 11, the whole of the second paragraph from the words "Very well! But that is..." and to the words "...not socialism"; (3) in Section 12, the concluding words of the fifth paragraph "...and politely invite the social-patriots to move over to the Grütli-Verein". p. 254

[105] *Le Populaire*—a French Centrist newspaper published in Limoges from 1916 and in Paris from July 1917. Edited in 1916 by Jean Longuet; contributors included Pierre Brizon, Adrien Pressemane, Jean-Pierre Raffin-Dugens, Boris Souvarine and Paul Faure. Became the official organ of the French Socialist Party in 1921; at present is controlled by the party's Right wing. p. 262

[106] Reference is to A. I. Guchkov's letter of August 15 (28), 1916 to General M. V. Alexeyev, Chief of Staff to the Supreme Commander of the Russian Forces, published in No. 57 of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, and excerpts from a Reichstag speech by Interior Minister Helfferich in reply to an opposition question about the wholesale arrests of Social-Democrats.

The Guchkov letter was sent to *Sotsial-Demokrat* from Russia along with other materials. In a letter to Inessa Armand dated December 5 (18), 1916, Lenin wrote: "Received another letter from St. Petersburg today. Of late they have been writing frequently.

"In addition to the Guchkov letter, which is being published in No. 57 of the Central Organ ... we have also received letters by Lvov and Chelnokov on the same subject (resentment against the traitors who are negotiating a separate peace), etc."

The Guchkov letter was expressive of the fear inspired in the Russian bourgeoisie by the maturing revolution and of its dissatisfaction with the government for its inability to prevent revolution. The substance of Helfferich's speech was that, it was better to arrest the leaders of the revolution than to allow the revolution to break out. p. 263

[107] This refers to the appeal *To Affiliated Parties and Groups* adopted at an enlarged meeting of the International Socialist Committee in February 1916. It sharply criticised the social-chauvinists and the social-chauvinist position of the International Socialist Bureau, denouncing its attempts to re-establish the Second International through "mutual amnesty" of socialists as a "plot against socialism". Socialists, the appeal said should refuse to vote war credits, should organise strikes, demonstrations, fraternisation at the front and other revolutionary actions against the imperialist war. The appeal was published in the *International Socialist Committee Bulletin* of February 29 (No. 3) and in *Sotsial-Demokrat* of March 25, 1916 (No. 52). p. 266

[108] On November 9 (22), 1906, the tsarist government issued a decree authorising the withdrawal of peasants from the commune and making their plots their personal property.

Amended by the Duma and Council of State, the decree came into force on June 14, 1910. Known as the Stolypin law, after Prime Minister P. A. Stolypin, it enabled the peasant to withdraw from the commune, take over his land as personal property and sell it if he so chose. The commune was under obligation to allot him land in one place. The Stolypin reform accelerated the development of

capitalism in agriculture and differentiation of the peasantry, and aggravated the class struggle in the rural areas. p. 266

[109] Reference is to a speech by F. Turati in the Italian Parliament on December 17, 1916, in which he sought to justify the imperialist war. The speech appeared on the next day in *Avanti!* (No. 345), and comment in the socialist press of various countries was summarised in *Volksrecht* (December 23, No. 301) under the heading "Eine Rede Turatis über das Friedensangebot" ("Turati Speech on Peace Proposals").

Lenin quotes and criticises the speech in his article "Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism" (see pp. 175-94 of this volume). p. 268

[110] *Statistics and Sociology* was meant for publication, legally, as a separate pamphlet under the pen-name P. Piryuchov. The article was never finished. p. 271

[111] This article was written in reply to one by Robert Grimm, "Mehrheit und Minderheit in der Militärfrage" ("Majority and Minority on the War Issue"), in the *Berner Tagwacht* of January 23-27, 1917 (Nos. 19-23) and the magazine *Neues Leben* (New Life) No. 1 for 1917. p. 278

[112] *Die Glocke* (The Bell)—a fortnightly magazine published in Munich and later in Berlin in 1915-25 by Parvus (Alexander Gelfand), a social-chauvinist member of the German Social-Democratic Party. p. 278

[113] These amendments were proposed by the Swiss Lefts at the Zurich cantonal party congress in Töss, February 11-12, 1917.

The congress had before it two draft resolutions: (1) a social-chauvinist draft submitted by minority members of the commission on the war issue, and (2) a Centrist draft from the commission majority. The latter was adopted with the amendments formulated by Lenin by 93 votes to 65. The Lefts voted for the resolution in order to prevent adoption of the social-chauvinist draft. The typewritten copy of the amendments has this note by Lenin on the results of the voting:

"For the Right-wing Klöti and Co. resolution — 65 — 82

" " Grimm Centrist resolution — 93 + 32 + 32 for this resolution 61 out of 158

Total 158"

The amendments were published in No. 1 of the leaflet "Gegen die Lüge der Vaterlandsverteidigung" ("Against the Fatherland Defence Lie") issued by the Swiss Left in February 1917 in close cooperation with Lenin.

Lenin discusses the struggle within the Swiss Social-Democratic Party in his article "The Story of One Short Period in the Life of One Socialist Party" (see pp. 283-86 of this volume). p. 282

[114] Reference is to the majority and minority draft resolutions published in *Volksrecht* of January 9, 1917 (No. 7) under the heading "Anträge der Militärkommission" ("Proposals of the Commission on the War Issue"). p. 283

[115] Lenin here refers to the referendum on the convocation of an emergency congress of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party to discuss its attitude towards the war. The referendum was initiated by the Left forces following the party Executive's decision to postpone the congress indefinitely.

On January 23, 1917, *Volksrecht* (No. 19) published in the "Party Life" column an appeal of the initiating group under the heading "Das Referendum gegen den Parteivorstandbeschluss ergriffen") ("Referendum Against Executive's Decision Begins"). p. 283

[116] *Neue Freie Zeitung*—a newspaper published in Olten by the Solothurn cantonal organisation of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party from 1905 to 1920. Took a Centrist stand in the First World War. p. 283

[117] *Basler Vorwärts*—organ of the Basle organisation of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, founded in 1898; followed a Centrist policy in the First World War. p. 283

[118] Reference is to H. Greulich's article "Zur Landesverteidigung" ("Defence of the Fatherland Issue") in *Volksrecht*, January 26, 1917 (No. 22). Lenin quotes §3 of the majority resolution at the beginning of this article. p. 284

[119] The editorial "Zum Referendum" ("On the Referendum") appeared in the "Party Life" section of *Volksrecht*, January 27, 1917 (No. 23). p. 284

[120] This refers to Fritz Platten's article "Die Militärfrage" ("The Military Question"), published as an editorial in *Volksrecht*, February 1, 1917 (No. 27), and continued in the paper's issues of February 2, 5 and 6 (Nos. 28, 30 and 31). p. 284

[121] Lenin here alludes to "Abänderungsanträge zu der Resolution der Militärkommission" ("Amendments to the Majority Resolution on the War Issue") published in *Volksrecht*, February 9, 1917 (No. 34). p. 285

[122] The first news of the February bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia reached Lenin on March 2 (15), 1917. Reports of the victory of the revolution and the advent to power of an Octobrist-Cadet government of capitalists and landlords appeared in the *Zürcher Post* and *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* by the evening of March 4 (17). Lenin had drawn up a rough draft of theses, not meant for publication, on the tasks of the proletariat in the revolution. The theses were immediately sent via Stockholm to Oslo for the Bolsheviks leaving for Russia. p. 287

[123] Lenin uses the appellation *Octobrist-Cadet* to describe the bourgeois Provisional Government formed at 3 p. m. on March 2 (15) 1917 by agreement between the Provisional Committee of the State Duma and the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik leaders of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The government was made up of Prince G. Y. Lvov (Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior), the Cadet leader P. N. Milyukov (Minister of Foreign Affairs) the Octobrist leader A. I. Guchkov (Minister of War and Acting Minister of the Navy) and other representatives of the big bourgeoisie and landlords. It also included A. F. Kerensky, of the Trudovik group, who was appointed Minister of Justice.

The manifesto of March 4 (*17*) mentioned by Lenin later on was originally drawn up by Menshevik members of the Petrograd Soviet Executive Committee. It set out the terms on which the Executive was prepared to support the Provisional Government. In the course of negotiations with the Duma Committee, it was revised by P. N. Milyukov and became the basis of the Provisional Government's first appeal to the people. p. 287

[124] The telegram was sent to Stockholm, addressed to Lundström, a Swedish Social-Democrat, for communication to the Bolsheviks returning to Russia from Stockholm and Oslo. It reached Petrograd on March 13 (26) and was read out by Y. B. Bosh at a meeting of the C.C. Bureau in Russia and, on the same day, at a meeting of the Executive Commission of the Petrograd Party Committee. p. 292

[125] The letter was published in *Volksrecht* under the heading "Feststellung" ("Factual Note"), and began with the words: "Comrade Lenin writes...." p. 293

[126] The first four *Letters from Afar* were written between March 7 and 12 (20 and 25), the fifth, unfinished letter was written on the eve of Lenin's departure from Switzerland, on March 26 (April 8), 1917.

As soon as the first news reached him of the revolutionary events in Russia and the composition of the bourgeois Provisional Government and the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, Lenin began work on an article for *Pravda*—he regarded the press as an important vehicle of propaganda and organisation. "The press is now the main thing", he wrote to Alexandra Kollontai on March 3 (16). "I cannot deliver lectures or attend meetings, for I must write daily for *Pravda*," he wrote to V. A. Karpinsky on March 8 (21), in reply to the latter's invitation to deliver a lecture on the tasks of the Party in the revolution to Russian émigrés and Swiss socialists in Geneva.

The first and second "Letters from Afar" were sent to Alexandra Kollontai in Oslo on March 9 (22) for forwarding to Petrograd. On March 17 (30) Lenin asked J. S. Hanecki whether the first four letters had reached *Pravda* in Petrograd, adding that if they had not, he would send copies. The letters were brought to Petrograd by

Alexandra Kollontai, who handed them over to *Pravda* on March 19 (April 1).

The first letter appeared in Nos. 14 and 15 of *Pravda*, March 21 and 22 (April 3 and 4), with considerable abridgements and certain changes by the editorial board, which, beginning with mid-March, included L. B. Kamenev and J. V. Stalin. The full text of the letter was first published in 1949, in the fourth Russian edition of Lenin's *Collected Works*.

The second, third and fourth letters were not published in 1917. The basic ideas of the unfinished fifth letter were developed by Lenin in his "Letters on Tactics" and "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution".

Before leaving for Russia, Lenin took measures to circulate the first and second letters among Bolsheviks living in France and Switzerland. p. 295

[127] The *Pravda* editors deleted about one fifth of the first letter. The cuts concern chiefly Lenin's characterisation of the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary leaders as conciliators and flunkeys of the bourgeoisie, their attempts to hide from the people the fact that representatives of the British and French governments helped the Cadets and Octobrists secure the abdication of Nicholas II, and also Lenin's exposure of the monarchist and imperialist proclivities of the Provisional Government, which was determined to continue the predatory war. p. 297

[128] Lenin here refers to the *Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies*, which emerged in the very early days of the February Revolution. Elections to the Soviet began spontaneously at individual factories and within a few days spread to all the factories in the capital. On February 27 (March 12), before the Soviet had assembled for its first meeting, the Menshevik liquidators K. A. Gvozdyov and B. O. Bogdanov, and Duma members N . S. Chkheidze, M. I. Skobelev and others proclaimed themselves the Provisional Executive Committee of the Soviet in an attempt to bring it under their complete control. At its first meeting in the evening of the same day, the Soviet formed a Presidium composed of Chkheidze, Kerensky and Skobelev who, together with A. G. Shlyapnikov, N. N. Sukhanov and Y. M. Steklov, made up the Executive Committee. Provision was made for inclusion of representatives of the central and Petrograd committees of the socialist parties. The Socialist-Revolutionaries were at first opposed to the organisation of the Soviet, but subsequently delegated their representatives, V. A. Alexandrovich, V. M. Zenzinov and others.

The Soviet proclaimed itself the organ of the workers and soldiers, and up to the first Congress of Soviets (June 1917) was factually an all-Russian centre. On March 1 (14) the Executive Committee was extended to include soldiers' deputies, among them F. F. Linde, A. I. Paderin and A. D. Sadovsky.

The Bureau of the Executive Committee was composed among others, of N. S. Chkheidze, Y. M. Steklov, B. O. Bogdanov,

P. I. Stučka, P. A. Krasikov, K. A. Gvozdyov. N. S. Chkheidze and A. F. Kerensky were delegated to represent the Soviet on the Duma Committee.

On February 28 (March 13), the Soviet issued its Manifesto to the Population of Petrograd and Russia. It called on the people to rally around the Soviet and take over the administration of local affairs. On March 3 (14), the Soviet appointed several commissions—on food, military affairs, public order and the press. The latter commission provided the first editorial board of *Izvestia*, composed of N. D. Sokolov, Y. M. Steklov, N. N. Sukhanov and K. S. Grinevich; V. A. Bazarov and B. V. Avilov were added somewhat later.

Meetings of the Executive Committee were attended, in a consultative capacity, by the Social-Democratic members of all the four State Dumas, five representatives of the Soldiers' Commission, two representatives of the Central Trade Union Bureau, representatives of the district Soviets, the *Izvestia* editorial board, and other organisations.

The Soviet appointed special delegates to organise district Soviets and began the formation of a militia (100 volunteers for every 1,000 workers).

Though leadership of the Soviet was in the hands of compromising elements, the pressure of the militant workers and soldiers compelled it to take a number of revolutionary measures—the arrest of tsarist officials, release of political prisoners, etc.

On March 1 (14), the Soviet issued its "Order No. 1 to the Petrograd Garrison". It played a very big part in revolutionising the army. Henceforth all military units were to be guided in their political actions solely by the Soviet, all weapons were to be placed at the disposal and under the control of company and battalion soldiers' committees, orders issued by the Provisional Committee of the State Duma were to be obeyed only if they did not conflict with the orders of the Soviet, etc.

But at the crucial moment, on the night following March 1 (14), the compromising leaders of the Soviet Executive voluntarily turned over power to the bourgeoisie: they endorsed the Provisional Government composed of representatives of the bourgeoisie and landlords. This was not known abroad, since papers standing to the left of the Cadets were not allowed out of the country. Lenin learned of the surrender of power only when he returned to Russia.

p. 299

[129] *Octobrists*—members of the Union of October Seventeen, a counter-revolutionary party formed after promulgation of the tsar's Manifesto of October 17 (30) 1905. It represented and upheld the interests of the big bourgeoisie and of the landlords who ran their estates on capitalist lines. Its leaders were A. I. Guchkov, a big Moscow manufacturer and real estate owner, and M. V. Rodzyanko, a rich landlord. The Octobrists gave their full support to the tsar's home and foreign policy and in the First World War joined the "Progressist bloc", a sham opposition group demanding responsible government, in other words, a government that would enjoy the

confidence of the bourgeoisie and landlords. The Octobrists became the ruling party after the February Revolution and did everything they could to ward off socialist revolution. Their leader, Guchkov, was War Minister in the First Provisional Government. Following the Great October Socialist Revolution, the party became one of the main forces in the battle against Soviet power.

The party of *Peaceful Renovation* was a constitutional-monarchist organisation of the big bourgeoisie and landlords. It took final shape in 1906 following the dissolution of the First Duma. It united the "Left" Octobrists and "Right" Cadets and its chief leaders were P. A. Heiden, N. N. Lvov, P. P. Ryabushinsky, M. A. Stakhovich, Y. N. and G. N. Trubetskoi, D. N. Shipov. Like the Octobrists, it sought to safeguard and promote the interests of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie and of the landlords who ran their estates along capitalist lines. In the Third Duma the party joined with the so-called Party of Democratic Reforms to form the Progressist group. p. 303

[130] *Cadets*—the name derives from the Constitutional-Democratic Party, the chief party of the Russian liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie. Founded in October 1905, it was composed chiefly of capitalists, Zemstvo leaders, landlords and bourgeois intellectuals. Prominent in the leadership were P. N. Milyukov, S. A. Muromtsev, V. A. Maklakov, A. I. Shingaryov, P. B. Struve and F. I. Rodichev. The Cadets became the party of the imperialist bourgeoisie and in the First World War actively supported the tsarist government's predatory policies and in the February Revolution tried to save the monarchy. The dominant force in the Provisional Government, they followed a counter-revolutionary policy inimical to the people but advantageous to U.S., British and French imperialism. Implacable enemies of Soviet power, the Cadets had an active part in all the armed counter-revolutionary actions and foreign intervention campaigns. Most of their leaders emigrated after the defeat of the counter-revolutionary forces and continued their anti-Soviet and counter-revolutionary work abroad. p. 303

[131] *Trudovik*—member of the Trudovik group in the State Dumas, formed in April 1906 by petty-bourgeois democrats—peasants and intellectuals of the Narodnik persuasion. The group wavered between the Cadets and the revolutionary Social-Democrats, and in the First World War most of its members adopted a social-chauvinist position.

The Trudoviks spoke for the rich peasants, the kulaks, and after the February Revolution actively supported the Provisional Government. One of their representatives, Zarudny, became Minister of Justice following the July events and directed the police campaign against the Bolsheviks. After the October Revolution the Trudoviks sided with the counter-revolutionary forces. p. 303

[132] The *first Provisional Government*, or the Provisional Committee of the State Duma, was formed on February 27 (March 12), 1917.

On that day the Duma Council of Doyens sent a telegram to the tsar drawing his attention to the critical situation in the capital and urging immediate measures "to save the fatherland and the dynasty". The tsar replied by sending the Duma President, M. V. Rodzyanko, a decree dissolving the Duma. By this time the insurgent people had surrounded the Duma building, the Taurida Palace, where Duma members were meeting in private conference, and blocked all the streets leading to it. Soldiers and armed workers were in occupation of the building. In this situation the Duma hastened to elect A Provisional Committee to "maintain order in Petrograd and for communication with various institutions and individuals".

The Provisional Committee was composed of V. V. Shulgin and V. N. Lvov, both of the extreme Right, Octobrists S. I. Shidlovsky, I. I. Dmitryukov, M. V. Rodzyanko (chairman), Progressists V. A. Rzhevsky and A. I. Konovalov, Cadets P. N . Milyukov and N. V. Nekrasov, the Trudovik A. F. Kerensky, and the Menshevik N. S. Chkheidze. p. 309

[133] The composition of the C.C. Bureau in Russia on March 9 (22), 1917 was as follows: A. I. Yelizarova, K. S. Yeremeyev, V. N. Zalezhsky, P. A. Zalutsky, M. I. Kalinin, V. M. Molotov, M. S. Olminsky, A. M. Smirnov, Y. D. Stasova, M. I. Ulyanova, M. I. Khakharev, K. M. Shvedchikov, A. C. Shlyapnikov and K. I. Shutko. On March 12 (25). G. I. Bokii and M. K. Muranov were added, also J. V. Stalin, with voice but no vote.

The *Petrograd Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.* was formed at a meeting on March 2 (15), 1917, and was composed of all those who had served on the illegal committees and newly co-opted members. The composition was: B. V. Avilov, N. K. Antipov, B. A. Zhemchuzhin, V. N. Zalezhsky, M. I. Kalinin, N. P. Komarov, L. M. Mikhailov, V. M. Molotov, K. Orlov, N. 1. Podvoisky, P. I. Stučka, V. V. Schmidt, K. I. Shutko and A. G. Shlyapnikov, representing the Central Committee Bureau.

For the January (Prague) Conference, to which Lenin refers, see Note No. 95. p. 311

[134] This refers to the *Manifesto of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party to All Citizens of Russia*, issued by the Central Committee and published as a supplement to *Izvestia* of February 28 (March 13), 1917 (No. 1). Lenin learned of the Manifesto from an abridged version in the morning edition of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, March 9 (22), 1917. On the following day he wired *Pravda* in Petrograd via Oslo: "Have just read excerpts from the Central Committee Manifesto. Best wishes. Long live the proletarian militia, harbinger of peace and socialism!" p. 311

[135] See Note No. 75. p. 312

[136] Reference is to the agreement concluded on the night following March 1 (14), 1917 between the Duma Provisional Committee and the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik leaders of the Petro-

grad Soviet Executive Committee. The latter voluntarily surrendered power to the bourgeoisie and authorised the Duma Provisional Committee to form a Provisional Government of its own choice. p. 314

[137] *Le Temps*—a daily paper published in Paris from 1861 to 1942. Spoke for the ruling element and was the factual organ of the French Foreign Ministry. p. 315

[138] The Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies was published in *Izvestia* on March 3 (16), 1917 (No. 4), simultaneously with the announcement of the formation of a Provisional Government under Prince Lvov. Drawn up by the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik members of the Executive Committee, it declared that the democratic forces would support the new government "to the extent that it carries out its undertakings and wages a determined struggle against the old regime".

The Manifesto did not mention the fact that the Soviet had authorised Kerensky to join the new government, inasmuch as on March 1 (14) the Executive Committee had decided "not to delegate democratic representatives to the government". *Le Temps* reported this in a despatch from its correspondent. On March 2 (15) the Soviet, "defying the protest of the minority", approved Kerensky's entry into the government as Minister of Justice. p. 315

[139] *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*—a bourgeois newspaper, founded in Zurich in 1780 and until 1821 published under the name *Zürcher Zeitung*, now the most influential paper in Switzerland.

National-Zeitung—a capitalist newspaper published in Berlin from 1848 to 1938; beginning with 1914 appeared under the name *Acht-Uhr Abendsblatt. National-Zeitung*. p. 315

[140] The foreign press reported the appointment by the Petrograd Soviet of a special body to keep check on the Provisional Government. On the basis of this report, Lenin at first welcomed the organisation of this control body, pointing out, however, that only experience would show whether it would live up to expectations. Actually, this so-called Contact Committee, appointed by the Executive on March 8 (21) to "influence" and "control" the work of the Provisional Government, only helped the latter exploit the prestige of the Soviet as a cover for its counter-revolutionary policy. The Contact Committee consisted of M. I. Skobelev, Y. M. Steklov, N. N. Sukhanov, V. N. Filippovsky, N S. Chkheidze and, later V. M. Chernov and I. G. Tsereteli. It helped keep the masses from active revolutionary struggle for the transfer of power to the Soviets. The committee was dissolved in April 1917, when its functions were taken over by the Petrograd Soviet Executive Committee Bureau. p. 316

[141] *Frankfurter Zeitung*—an influential German capitalist daily paper, published in Frankfurt-on-Main, from 1856 to 1943. Resumed

publication in 1949 under the name *Frarkfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*; speaks for West German monopoly interests. p. 320

[142] *Vossische Zeitung*—a moderate liberal newspaper published in Berlin from 1704 to 1934. p. 320

[143] See Lenin's *The State and Revolution* (present edition, Vol. 25). p. 325

[144] Soon after its formation, the Provisional Government appointed the Octobrist M. A. Stakhovich Governor-General of Finland and the Cadet F. I. Rodichev Minister (or Commissioner) for Finnish Affairs. On March 8 (21), the Provisional Government issued its Manifesto "On Approval and Enforcement of the Constitution of the Grand Duchy of Finland". Under this Finland was allowed autonomy with the proviso that laws promulgated by the Finnish Diet would be subject to confirmation by the Russian Government. Laws that ran counter to Finnish legislation were to remain in force for the duration of the war.

The Provisional Government wanted the Finnish Diet to amend the Constitution to give "Russian citizens equal rights with Finnish citizens in commerce and industry", for under the tsarist government such equality was imposed in defiance of Finnish laws. At the same time, the Provisional Government refused to discuss self-determination for Finland "pending convocation of the constituent assembly". This led to a sharp conflict, resolved only after the Great October Socialist Revolution when, on December 18 (31), 1917, the Soviet Government granted Finland full independence. p. 331

[145] *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* was written in the first half of 1916, and on June 19 (July 2) was sent to Petrograd via Paris. It was to have been published by the Parus publishing house which, on Maxim Gorky's initiative, was putting out a series of popular surveys of West-European countries involved in the war. Lenin maintained contact with the publishers through the editor of the series, M. N. Pokrovsky. On September 29, 1916, Gorky wrote Pokrovsky in Paris that Lenin's book was "really excellent" and would be put out in addition to the regular series. However, the Parus editors strongly objected to Lenin's criticism of Kautsky's renegade position and substantially altered the text, deleting all criticism of Kautsky's theory of ultra-imperialism and distorting a number of Lenin's formulations. The book was finally published in mid-1917 with a preface by Lenin, dated April 26.

Parus (Sail) and *Letopis* (Annals)—the names of the publishing house and magazine founded by Gorky in Petrograd.

Letopis—a magazine of literature, science and politics whose contributors included former Bolsheviks (the Machists V. A. Bazarov and A. A. Bogdanov) and Mensheviks. Gorky was literary editor, and among the other prominent writers contributing to *Letopis* were Alexander Blok, Valeri Bryusov, Fyodor Gladkov, Sergei Yesenin.

A. V. Lunacharsky, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Vyacheslav Shishkov and A. Chaplygin. *Letopis* appeared from December 1915 to December 1917. The Parus publishing house existed from 1915 through 1918. p. 334

[146] The *agrarian programme of the "104"*—the land reform bill the Trudovik members submitted to the 13th meeting of the First State Duma on May 23 (June 5) 1906. Its purpose was to "establish a system under which all the land, with its deposits and waters, would belong to the entire people, and farmlands would be allowed only those tilling them by their own labour" (*Documents and Materials of the State Duma*, Moscow, 1957, p. 172). The Trudoviks advocated organisation of a "national land fund" that would include all state, crown, monastery and church lands, also part of privately owned lands, which were to be alienated if the size of the holding exceeded the labor norm fixed for the given area. Partial compensation was to be paid for such alienated land. Small holdings were to remain the property of the owner, but would eventually be brought into the national fund. Implementation of the reform was to be supervised by local committees elected by universal, direct and equal suffrage and by secret ballot. p. 341

[147] This was written early in March 1917 and published in Berne over the signature: "Editorial Board, *Sotsial-Demokrat*", with the following note: "Comrades, continue to write to the Prisoners' Relief Committee at the following address: Schweiz, Bern, Falkenweg 9, Dr. Schklowsky . The comrades will try to keep on sending books, etc."

Contact with Russian war prisoners in German and Austrian camps began in 1915, when the Committee of R.S.D.L.P. Organisations Abroad set up in Berne the Social-Democratic Commission for Contact with War Prisoners. Nearly 250 letters a month were sent to and received from war prisoners in more than 20 camps. Communication was established with Social-Democrats in these camps, mostly Bolsheviks and Bolshevik sympathisers, and through them camp libraries were built up, diverse propaganda work conducted, May Day celebrations organised, etc.

Sotsial-Demokrat, the Bolshevik Central Organ, *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*, *Kommunist*, Alexandra Kollontai's pamphlet *Who Needs This War?* (in two editions) a leaflet on the land question, Gorky's leaflet "The Black-Hundred Pogrom-Mongers and the Jews", various textbooks and other literature were supplied to the camps.

In February 1917, No. 1 of the magazine *In War Prison* was put out, financed by collections among war prisoners. Issue No. 2 was prepared for publication at the end of March 1917, on the eve of the Bolsheviks departure for Russia, but did not appear in print.

Lenin attached great importance to work among war prisoners who, on returning home, would be drawn into the revolutionary struggle. Regular personal contacts were out of the question, but two war prisoners who had escaped from German camps visited Lenin in Zurich towards the close of January 1917.

Through the war prisoners the Bolshevik ideas penetrated to the population. In 1917-18, Russian war prisoners look an active part in the revolutionary struggle of the German working class. p. 343

[148] *Pravda* (Truth)—daily legal Bolshevik newspaper, started publication in St. Petersburg on April 22 (May 5), 1912 in pursuance of a decision of the Sixth (Prague) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.

Lenin directed *Pravda*, wrote for it nearly every day, advised its editors and saw to it that the paper was conducted in a militant, revolutionary spirit. Much of the Party's organisation work was centered in *Pravda*, which organised meetings with representatives of Party nuclei, collected information on Party activity in the factories, and transmitted to local organisations directives of the Central and St. Petersburg committees.

Pravda was subjected to constant police harassment and persecution and was closed shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, on July 8 (21), 1914.

Publication was resumed after the February Revolution, on March 5 (18), 1917, as the R.S.D.L.P. Central and St. Petersburg organ.

Lenin joined the editorial board on his return to Petrograd, and from that day *Pravda* began to popularise his plan for transition from bourgeois-democratic to socialist revolution.

In July-October 1917, *Pravda* was persecuted by the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government and frequently had to change its name. It appeared as *Listok Pravdy* (Pravda Bulletin), *Proletary* (Proletarian), *Rabochy* (Worker), *Rabochy Put* (Worker's Path), resuming its original name after the victory of the October Revolution.

Pravda played a very special part in the history of the Bolshevik Party and the revolution. It was a major medium of mass propaganda and organisation in the struggle to achieve the Party's aims. It waged a determined fight for the Party principles against the Menshevik liquidators, otzovists and Trotskyites and exposed their treasonous role. It fought international opportunism and Centrism and educated the workers in the spirit of revolutionary Marxism. It played a cardinal role also in building up the Party, achieving close cohesion of its ranks and strengthening its contacts with the masses. The generation of front-rank workers trained by *Pravda* had a conspicuous part in the Great October Socialist Revolution and in the building of socialism.

Pravda holds a special place in the history of the Bolshevik press. The first legally published Russian mass working-class paper, it ushered in a new stage in the development of the Russian and world Proletarian press. The day of its foundation, May 5, has since 1914 been celebrated as Workers' Press Day. p. 347

[149] Lenin points to the lessons of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, when Prussia handed over French war prisoners to the counter-

revolutionary Versailles government to help suppress the Paris Commune. p. 348

[150] The lecture "*The Tasks of the R.S.D.L.P. in the Russian Revolution*" ("The Russian Revolution, Its Significance and Tasks") was delivered in German on March 14 (27), 1917 at a meeting of Swiss workers in the Zurich People's House. Lenin gave a summary to *Volksrecht*, and later, on March 31 (April 13), when he was passing through Stockholm en route to Russia, also to the editors of the Swedish Left Social-Democratic *Politiken*, in which it appeared, slightly abridged, on April 15 (No. 86) under the heading: "Lenin on the Russian Revolution. Direct Peace Negotiations Between Peoples, Not Governments". p. 355

[151] This is discussed in more detail in *The State and Revolution*, Chapter VI, §3, "Kautsky's Controversy with Pannekoek" (see present edition, Vol. 25). p. 359

[152] See Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, *The Civil War in France*, *Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association*, and Engels's Letter to L. Kugelmann, April 12, 1871; Marx and Engels, Preface to the German edition of the *Communist Manifesto* (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, pp. 332-33, 516-17; Vol. II, Moscow, 1962, pp. 463-64; Vol. I, p. 22). p. 359

[153] This article appeared in *Volksrecht*, April 5 (No. 81) and in abridged form in *Avanti!*, April 10 (No: 99). Judging from J. S. Hanecki's letter of March 24 (April 6) to the Bureau in Russia of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee, the article was sent to Petrograd on March 22 (April 4). It did not appear in *Pravda*, presumably because the role played by the police agent Chernomazov had already been explained in the press. p. 362

[154] *Corriere della Sera*—an influential Italian capitalist newspaper, founded in Milan in 1876. p. 362

[155] Upon his return to Petrograd on March 12 (25), 1917, M. K. Muranov, a Bolshevik member of the Fourth State Duma, immediately wrote to the newspaper *Dyen* stating the facts about Chernomazov and his connection with *Pravda*. The letter was published on March 14 (27). Muranov wrote that Chernomazov had worked on *Pravda* from May 1913 to February 1914 and was dismissed on suspicion of being a police informer. The R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee Bureau instructed Party organisations and members to discontinue all contact with him. Muranov wrote: "M Chernomazov had never been, nor could have been, the chief and sole director of *Pravda*, which was edited by a board composed of R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee members and R.S.D.L.P. Duma deputies." p. 364

[156] *Petit Parisien*—a daily mass-circulation yellow sheet published in Paris from 1876 to 1944. During the First World War its pages were devoted to jingoist propaganda of the very worst kind.
p. 364

[157] The decision was signed by Lenin, and also by G. Y. Zinoviev.
p. 365

[158] Lenin began to make arrangements for returning to Russia as soon as the news of the February Revolution was confirmed. "I'm beside myself at the thought that I cannot go to Scandinavia! I cannot forgive myself for not having risked going there in 1915," he wrote to Inessa Armand on March 2 (15), 1917. Both the Provisional Government and the Allies, England and France, took measures to prevent the internationalists returning to Russia. The Russian police drew up a black list of persons subject to arrest at the frontier Most of the names were those of Zimmerwald internationalists; opponents of the imperialist war. Only defencists were allowed to enter the country. Knowing that his return would encounter formidable obstacles, Lenin weighed the possibility of travelling on someone else's passport. He discussed this in letters to V. A. Karpinsky in Geneva and J. S. Hanecki in Stockholm.

At a private meeting of the Russian Party centres in Berne on March 6 (19), Martov suggested travelling via Germany in exchange for Germans interned in Russia. The plan was eagerly supported by Lenin, all the more so that, on March 11 (24), the Russian Legation in Berne had held up permits for the return of a number of émigrés.

Robert Grimm, a Social-Democratic member of the Swiss Federal Council, negotiated with the German Minister in Berne permission for Russian political émigrés to make the trip through Germany. In view of Grimm's ambiguous attitude, the Bolsheviks asked Fritz Platten, a Left Zimmerwaldist and Secretary of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, to take over the negotiations. The German Government agreed to the terms proposed by Platten and drawn up by Lenin: the group would be accorded ex-territorial rights on German soil, would not be subjected to customs inspection or political verification; the German authorities would deal only with Platten, who was to accompany the Russians throughout the journey.

The group left only on March 27 (April 9). The delay was caused by the Mensheviks demanding prior agreement by the Provisional Government or the Petrograd Soviet to exchange Russian émigrés for German internees. Yet, it was perfectly clear that the Provisional Government, taking its cue from the British Government, would do everything to impede the return of these determined revolutionary opponents of the imperialist war. The Bolsheviks therefore decided to leave immediately.

The terms and procedures agreed upon were only recorded in a protocol which was communicated to Left Zimmerwaldists in Germany—Paul Levi (Hartstein), France—Fernand Loriot and

Henri Guilbeaux, Poland—M. Bronski, and Switzerland—Fritz Platten.

In addition, a Statement for the press was drawn up in their name and signed in Stockholm by Swedish Left Social-Democrats Carl Lindhagen, Fredrik Ström, C. N. Carleson, Karl Kilbom and Ture Nerman, and by the Norwegian Left Social-Democrat Arvid Hansen. The statement read in part:

"We the undersigned are aware of the obstacles the Entente governments have created to the return of the Russian internationalists. We are aware of the terms on which the German Government has permitted their journey to Sweden.... The undersigned internationalists of France, Switzerland, Poland, Germany, Sweden and Norway believe that our Russian comrades not only have the right, but also the obligation to avail themselves of this opportunity to return to Russia. We wish them every success in their struggle against the imperialist policy of the Russian bourgeoisie—a struggle that is part of our common fight for the emancipation of the working class and for the socialist revolution." The statement appeared in the Swedish left Social-Democratic *Politiken* of April 15, 1917 (No. 86).

In view of French press reports that Foreign Minister Milyukov threatened to have the émigrés arrested on charges of high treason, Lenin and all the other members of the group, irrespective of political affiliation, signed the following statement:

"I hereby certify,

"1. that I have been informed of the conditions laid down by Platten and the German Legation;

"2. that I submit to all the instructions of Platten as leader of the group;

"3. that I have been told of the report in *Petit Parisien* that the Russian Provisional Government has threatened to try all Russian citizens travelling through Germany on charges of high treason;

"4. that I assume full political responsibility for my participation in the journey;

"5. that Platten has guaranteed my trip only to Stockholm.

"April 9, 1917,

"Berne-Zurich."

(Central Party Archives, Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U.)

Lenin was the first to sign the statement, during the train journey from Berne to Zurich. The possibility was thus precluded of anyone pleading ignorance of the consequences of his participation in the journey and laying the blame on its organisers. The text of the statement suggests that Lenin had a share in drafting it.

The group left on March 27 (April 9), on March 31 (April 13) they arrived in Stockholm, and on the same day Lenin left for Russia via Finland. p. 365

[159] This letter was written in mid-March 1917 before it became known, on March 19 (April 1), that Grimm had taken an ambiguous attitude

in the negotiations with the German representatives. The original text was written while Grimm was still negotiating, and the passages referring to this were deleted by Lenin after all the arrangements had been turned over to Platten.

The letter was discussed and approved on March 26 (April 8), at a meeting of Bolsheviks returning to Russia. After that Lenin added the opening lines: "Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (united by the *Central Committee*)", "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" and the concluding paragraph.

Lenin was associated with a number of Swiss Social-Democratic leaders, whom he had contacted upon his arrival in Berne from Poronin in 1914.

It was through them that his famous theses "The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War", adopted by the Berne Bolshevik Conference, August 24-26 (September 6-8, 1914, were transmitted to the Conference of Italian and Swiss Socialists in Lugano on September 27, 1914. Members of the Zurich Bolshevik group who belonged to Swiss trade unions recall that Lenin emphasised the need to work in the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, and they joined its Zurich organisation.

Lenin had a prominent part in the inner-party struggle first in Berne and later in Zurich, against the Right wing led by social-patriot Greulich, and against the Centrists led by Grimm. He used all his influence on the side of the Left Zimmerwaldists (Platten, Nobs and others), helping them to overcome indecision in the fight against the Centrists. The numerous documents the Lefts issued against opportunism were drafted in close co-operation with Lenin. Written chiefly in German, some of them were published in the Swiss socialist press ("Speech at the Congress of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, November 4, 1916"; "Twelve Brief Theses on H. Greulich's Defence of Fatherland Defence"); but most of them were circulated to party organisations opposed to social-patriotism, which had gained the upper hand in January 1917.

At the Zurich Cantonal Party Congress at Töss (February 11-12, 1917) the Left tabled Lenin's amendments to the Centrist resolution on the war issue (see p. 282 of this volume). Though the Centrist resolution was adopted a fifth of the Congress voted for Lenin's amendments. Immediately after the Congress Lenin helped the Swiss Zimmerwaldists put out No. 1 of their bulletin ("*Gegen die Lüge der Vaterlandsverteidigung*", published under the signature: "Gruppe der Zimmerwalder linken in der Schweiz". Lenin edited the bulletin and was instrumental in circulating it outside Swit erland. It contained the full text of his amendments and also his remarks on the annexation issue.

The official party leaders viciously attacked Lenin as a "foreigner" and tried to prevent his influence on Social-Democratic workers.

However, in 1915 there were already elements among the Swiss socialists who favoured a break with the Second International and formation of the Third International. There was also the Swiss Zimmerwald Left group which included émigrés from Russia, Poland, France and Germany. p. 367

[160] Lenin here refers to the *Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland* (known as the Socialist Party in the French and Italian cantons) founded in the 1870s and affiliated to the First International and re-established in 1888. The party was strongly influenced by opportunists, who assumed a social-chauvinist position in the First World War. The Right wing broke away from the party in the autumn of 1916 and founded its own organisation. The party majority, led by Robert Grimm, followed a Centrist, social-pacifist policy; the Left, internationalist wing, which became much more influential after the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, withdrew from the party in December 1920, and in 1921 merged with the Swiss Communist Party (now the Swiss Party of Labour) formed in 1919. p. 367

[161] *Freie Jugend*—organ of the Swiss Social-Democratic youth organisation published in Zurich from 1906 to February 1918. Was affiliated to the Zimmerwald Left. p. 368

[162] Reference is to the amendments to the resolution on the war issue, written by Lenin (see p. 282 of this volume). p. 368

[163] *Arbeiterpolitik*—a weekly journal of scientific socialism published in Bremen from 1916 to 1919 by the Bremen Left Radical Group led by J. Kniff and P. Froelich. The group joined the Communist Party of Germany in 1919. *Arbeiterpolitik* fought social-chauvinism in the German and international labour movement. Its contributors included N. I. Bukharin, A. Guilbeaux, Alexandra Kollontai, Nadezhda Krupskaya, A. Pannekoek, K. Radek and Y. M. Steklov.

After the October Socialist Revolution *Arbeiterpolitik* widely publicised revolutionary progress in Soviet Russia. In 1917-18 it printed several of Lenin's articles and speeches ("The Crisis Has Matured", "Report on the Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", "Speech at a Meeting of the Moscow Soviet of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies, April 23, 1918"). In November 1918, during the revolution in Germany, it published chapters I and II of Lenin's article "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution" and passages from *The State and Revolution* (§§ 1, 3, 4 of Chapter 1, §3 of Chapter III, and §1 of Chapter IV). p. 373

THE LIFE AND WORK OF V. I. LENIN

Outstanding Dates
(*August 1916-March 1917*)

1916

End of August-beginning of September	Lenin returns to Zurich from Flums.
August-September	Lenin writes "The Nascent Trend of Imperialist Economism" and "Reply to P. Kievsky (Y. Pyatakov)".
August-October	Lenin writes "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism".
September 17 (30)	Lenin attends a conference of the International Socialist Committee in Berne.
September	Lenin writes "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution", published in *Jugend-Internationale* Nos. 9 and 10, 1917.
First half of October	Lenin writes a message of greetings from the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee to the Italian Socialist Party Congress in Zurich. The message is read at the Congress session of October 2 (15).
October	Lenin writes "The 'Disarmament' Slogan" and "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism", both of which appear in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 2, December 1916.
October 21 and 22 (November 3 and 4	Lenin attends meetings of Left delegates to the Swiss Social-Democratic Party Congress and shares in drafting the Congress resolution on the attitude towards Kienthal.
October 22 (November 4)	Lenin addresses the Swiss Social-Democratic Party Congress in Zurich on behalf of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee.
October 24 (November 6)	Lenin's articles "A Separate Peace" and "Ten 'Socialist' Ministers!" are published in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 56.

October	Publication of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 1, with Lenin's articles "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up", "The Junius Pamphlet" and the theses "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination".
End of October-beginning of November	Lenin writes the theses "Tasks of the Left Zimmerwaldists in the Swiss Social-Democratic Party" and arranges for their circulation and translation into French. The French translation was published as a separate pamphlet in 1918.
November 7 (20)	Lenin discusses these theses with a group of Left Zimmerwaldists.
November 17 (30	Second discussion of the theses and of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party's attitude towards the war with a group of Left Zimmerwald supporters.
November 1916-February 1917	In Letters to Inessa Armand, Lenin substantiates and amplifies the principal Marxist propositions on the war and fatherland defence.
	Lenin trenchantly criticises the views and factional activity of the Pyatakov-Bosh-Bukharin group, exposes the political intrigue of Radek and Zinoviev's unprincipled, conciliatory attitude, discloses and criticises the errors and inconsistency of the Left Social-Democrats.
Beginning of December	Lenin works on his "Theses on the Attitude of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party Towards the War".
December 19 (January 1, 1917)	Lenin writes "Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism".
Second half of December	Lenin writes "An Open Letter to Boris Souvarine" published, in abridged form, in *La Vérité* No. 48, January 27, 1918.
Before December 25 (January 7, 1917)	Lenin draws up rough draft of "Theses for an Appeal to the International Socialist Committee and All Socialist Parties".
December 26-27 (January 8-9, 1917)	Lenin writes "An Open Letter to Charles Naine, Member of the International Socialist Committee in Berne".
End of December	Lenin writes his appeal "To the Workers Who Support the Struggle Against the War and Against the Socialists Who Have Sided with Their Governments".

December — Publication of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* No 2, with Lenin's articles "The 'Disarmament' Slogan", "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism", "The Youth International", "Efforts To Whitewash Opportunism" and "The Chkheidze Faction and Its Role".

Lenin writes "Principles Involved in the War Issue" and "On the Defence of the Fatherland Issue".

December 1916-February 1917 — Lenin works in the Zurich Library on the Marxist attitude towards the state. His Notes from Marx and Engels, together with his own comments and conclusions, are gathered together under the title "Marxism on the State".

1917

January 1-2 (*14-15*) — Lenin presides at a meeting of Swiss Left Social-Democrats to discuss a statement against Grimm.

January 6 (*19*) — Lenin circulates to Bolshevik organisations abroad the resolution of the Swiss Left Social-Democrats initiating a referendum on convocation of the emergency party congress indefinitely postponed by the party Executive.

January 9 (*22*) — Lenin delivers a lecture on the 1905 Revolution at a youth gathering in Zurich.

January 13-17 (*26-30*) — Lenin writes his article "Twelve Brief Theses on H. Greulich's Defence of Fatherland Defence". It appeared in *Volksrecht* Nos. 26 and 27.

January 18 (*31*) — Lenin's article "A Turn in World Politics" is published in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 58

January — Lenin works on his unfinished pamphlet *Statistics and Sociology*, writes the articles "Imaginary or Real Marsh?" and "Defence of Neutrality".

January 24 (*February 6*) — Lenin attends a general meeting of the Zurich Social-Democratic organisation at which a new committee is elected.

January 27-29 (*February 9-11*) — Lenin writes "Proposed Amendments to the Resolution on the War Issue" (or submission on behalf of the Left Social-Democrats, to the Zurich Cantonal Congress of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party.

February 4 (*17*)	Lenin writes to Alexandra Kollontai in Stockholm, asking her to sound out the possibility of contact with the Swedish Left Social-Democrats and participation in their press organ.
February 20 (*March 5*)	In a letter to Alexandra Kollontai in Stockholm, Lenin indicates concrete measures to unite the Left and suggests a plan for theses in connection with the Social-Democratic Youth Congress.
End of February	Lenin writes "The Story of One Short Period in the Life of One Socialist Party".
February-March	Lenin shares in editing *Bulletin* No. 1 of the Swiss Zimmerwald Lefts and arranges for its translation and circulation.
March 2 (*16*)	Lenin receives the first news of the February Revolution and takes measures for an immediate return to Russia.
March 3 and 4 (*16 and 17*)	In a letter to Alexandra Kollontai in Oslo Lenin gives his appraisal of the February Revolution and outlines Bolshevik tactics.
March 4 (*17*)	Lenin writes his "Draft Theses, March 4 (17) 1917" and sends them to Stockholm for the guidance of the Bolsheviks returning to Russia.
March 5 (*18*)	Lenin delivers a lecture on the Paris Commune and the prospects of the Russian revolution at La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland.
March 6 (*19*)	Lenin wires (via Stockholm) to the Bolsheviks in Oslo about to leave for Russia, giving concrete advice on the Party's tactics in the revolution.
March 7 (*20*)	Lenin writes his first "Letter from Afar"—"The First Stage of the First Revolution". It appears in *Pravda* Nos. 14 and 15.
March 8-9 (*21-22*)	Lenin writes his second "Letter from Afar"—"The New Government and the Proletariat".
March 10 (*23*)	Lenin sends the first and second "Letters from Afar" to Bolshevik organisations in other countries.
March 10-11 (*23-24*)	Lenin writes the third "Letter from Afar"—"Concerning a Proletarian Militia".

March 12 (*25*) — Lenin writes the fourth "Letter from Afar"—"How To Achieve Peace" and the article "The Revolution in Russia and the Tasks of the Workers of All Countries".

Mid-March — Lenin writes the appeal "To Our Comrades in War-Prisoner Camps", published as a leaflet over the signature of the Sotsial-Demokrat Editorial Board.

March 14 (*27*) — Lenin delivers a lecture at a meeting of Swiss workers in Zurich on "The Russian Revolution, Its Significance and Tasks".

March 17 (*30*) — Lenin writes "Tricks of the Republican Chauvinists", published in *Volksrecht* No. 81 and, in abridged form, in *Avanti!* No. 99.

March 18 (*31*) — Collegium Abroad of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee approves Lenin's draft of rules for the émigrés returning to Russia.

March 22 (*April 9*) — Lenin attends a meeting in Zurich to discuss organisation of the journey to Russia.

Lenin goes to Berne to sign the Protocol on the return journey from Switzerland to Russia.

March 26 (*April 8*) — Lenin writes the fifth (unfinished) "Letter from Afar"—"The Tasks Involved in the Building of the Revolutionary Proletarian State".

Lenin writes his "Farewell Letter to the Swiss Workers", which is approved in Berne by a meeting of R.S.D.L.P. members returning to Russia.

March 27 (*April 9*) — Lenin and Krupskaya leave Berne for Zurich, where they join a group of émigrés returning to Russia.

March 27-30 (*April 9-12*) — During the journey Lenin works on his theses on the tasks of the proletariat in the revolution (the "April Theses").

March 31 (*April 13*) — En route to Russia, Lenin makes a one-day stop in Stockholm, attends a meeting of Swedish Social-Democrat internationalists, organises the Bureau Abroad of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee.

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В. И. ЛЕНИН

СОЧИНЕНИЯ

Том 23

На английскот языке

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